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*"Japanese Action Spells Construction
Enemy Action Spells Self-Destruction"*



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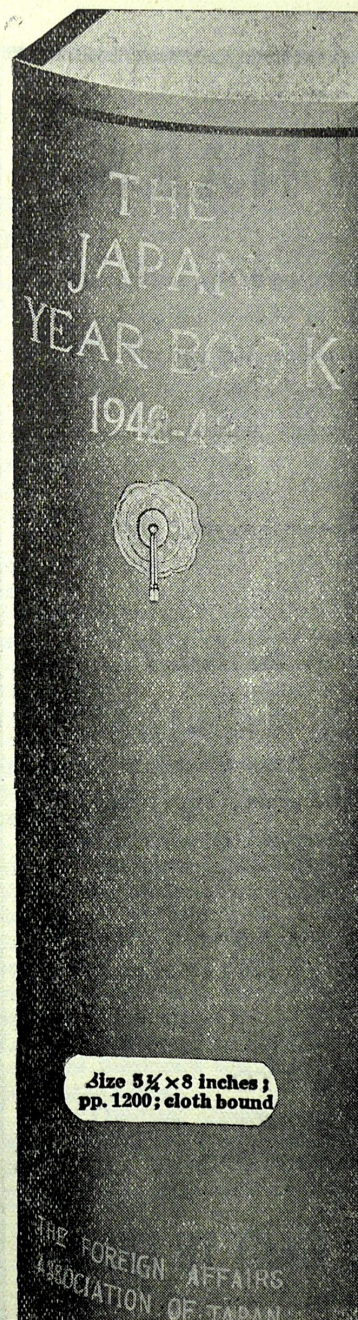
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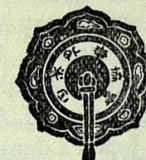
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DECEMBER, 1943



Volume XII, No. 12

MARCH OF EVENTS

The war in greater East Asia has now stepped into the third year. On December 8, 1941, hostilities broke out between Japan and the Anglo-American nations. On that memorable day, the Pacific Fleet of United States based at Pearl Harbour was crippled by Japanese naval surface craft and airplanes. Again toward the close of the second year of war, Japanese warships and naval air formations inflicted severe damages on American war vessels and aircraft-carriers in the Bougainville area in northern Solomons. The moment hostilities ensued, Thailand, by virtue of its offensive and defensive pact with Japan, declared war on Britain and the United States, and made common cause with this country to fight for the creation of a mutual prosperity sphere embracing greater East Asia. Following the sea battle off the Kuantan coast in Malaya and the Pearl Harbour attack, the land, air and sea forces of Japan launched lightning assaults on various Anglo-American positions, with the result that on December 25, 1941, Hongkong was occupied, and, before the New Year celebrations were over, the American forces in the Philippines, leaving Manila in the hands of Japanese troops, retired to the fastness of Bataan. Simultaneously, Japan entrenched its position in Ipoh in Malaya, Kuchin in British Borneo and Victoria Point in Burma. On January 10, 1942, Manila became the nerve-center of new life in the Philippines. On February 15 Singapore fell and, in celebrating its fall the next day, the Japanese Government declared that the Philippines and Burma would be made independent States. On March 1 the Dutch forces in the East Indies surrendered and on March 8 Rangoon was occupied. Thus within a short space of time, all the major key areas were freed from Anglo-American influences. Then by the middle of April not only the Anglo-American-Chungking forces were caused to

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retreat from upper Burma and the strategic points in Arakan, but also the Bataan peninsula was reduced bringing about the capitulation of Corregidor. By achieving such stupendous results, Japan within the first year of war established its supremacy in greater East Asia, and the hostilities shifted to the Solomon islands. Up to the end of the second year of war, no marked change was noticed in the position of Japan in greater East Asia, except the recapture of Attu and Kiska in the Aleutians by the United States and Japan's deployment from certain points in British New Guinea and the Solomons, barring the Bougainville Island. A few weeks prior to the commencement of the third year of war, American forces landed on Tarawa and Makin islands in the Gilbert Group. While the military situation remained thus, the political development in greater East Asia witnessed an epochal evolution. On August 1, 1942, Burma, attaining its independence, entered into a state of war with Britain and the United States, and on October 14 the Philippines emerged as a free country and contracted an alliance with Japan. Meanwhile, semi-autonomous rights were granted to Malaya and the East Indies. Earlier, the Nanking Government, securing the retrocession of concessional and extra-territorial rights, declared war on Britain and the United States. The most remarkable event in the month of October was the organization of a Provisional Government of Free India and its declaration of war on the Anglo-American nations. This Provisional Government has been recognized by all the sovereign States of greater East Asia and friendly Powers. On November 5 and 6 an Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations was held in Tokyo participated by Japan, China, Manchoukuo, Thailand, Burma and the Philippines. The Head of the Provisional Government of Free India attended it as an observer. At the conclusion of the assembly, a five-point joint declaration was adopted pledging mutual co-operation for the durable construction of a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere and thereby contribute to the maintenance of world peace. On October 30, a Sino-Japanese Pact of Alliance was concluded to solidify mutual collaboration and respect for each other's sovereignty and territory. By a separate protocol Japan declared to withdraw its armed forces from China on the return of a general peace. A survey of the political and military results obtained in the course of the past two years of war unquestionably reveals that the construction of a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere is forging ahead with remarkable speed under the spontaneous co-operation of all the parties concerned, and that the defence of the sphere itself has become solid.

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The accomplishment of Japan in the Pearl Harbour raid was overshadowed by the brilliant results obtained off the Bougainville Air Battles. Bougainville Island in the course of five air battles fought from November 5 to November 17. American contingents landed on Mono Island south of Bougainville on October 27. This was followed by another American landing on Bougainville on November 1. Consequently, the staging of large-scale aerial battles to reduce the naval and air strength of the MacArthur command became imminent. On October 27, Japanese aircraft sank two cruisers and two transports and damaged two cruisers and one transport to the loss of twelve planes. Then between October 30 and November 2 Japanese air formations sunk three large-sized cruisers, one cruiser, one cruiser or large-sized destroyer, one destroyer, two large-sized transports and more than forty landing barges; damaged two or three large-sized cruisers, one cruiser or destroyer, two large-sized transports and a large number of barges; and shot down ten planes. The Japanese side in this engagement lost one destroyer sunk, one cruiser slightly damaged and fifteen planes unaccounted for. On the heels of these notable results, Japanese naval warplanes, warships and Army air forces determined themselves to deal a crushing blow to the American carrier-based forces, and so the Bougainville area became the site of unprecedented air battles. The first aerial battle took place on November 5 and the Japanese side sank one large-sized aircraft-carrier, one medium-sized aircraft-carrier, two large-sized cruisers and two cruisers or large-sized destroyers. The second battle was fought on November 8 and the American carrier-based forces retired after suffering losses as follows: sunk, four battleships, two cruisers, three destroyers and four transports; damaged, six large-sized cruisers, four cruisers or large-sized destroyers and one large-sized transport; and shot down, fifteen planes. In this severe encounter only twenty Japanese warplanes were lost. The third, fourth and fifth aerial battles respectively occurred on November 11, 13 and 17 entailing the subjoined high losses to the American side: sunk, one large-sized aircraft-carrier, two medium-sized aircraft-carriers, four cruisers, one large-sized cruiser, one cruiser or destroyer, one destroyer and one large-sized battleship of unidentified class; damaged, two battleships, two large-sized aircraft-carriers, one medium-sized aircraft-carrier, one large-sized cruiser, three cruisers or large-sized destroyers and one destroyer; and shot down two planes. The composite results gained by Japanese forces during the three weeks from October 27 to November 17 were

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four battleships, two large-sized aircraft-carriers, three medium-sized aircraft-carriers, six large-sized cruisers, nine cruisers, four cruisers or large-sized destroyers, six destroyers, one large-sized warship and thirteen transports sunk; two large-sized aircraft-carriers and other warships number thirty-five damaged; and 500 planes shot down.

In spite of the excessive losses suffered by the United States, the American forces supported by a carrier-based unit attacked the Gilbert islands and landed on Tarawa and Makin islands on November

Gilbert Operations and Composite Results

21. Between November 19, when the American carrier-based unit launched its attack, and November 23 the Japanese garrison forces and warplanes sank one medium-sized aircraft-carrier, damaged two large aircraft-carriers, one medium-sized aircraft-carrier, one battleship and one transport and shot down 125 planes. Fifteen Japanese planes failed to return. A tabulation of the composite war results obtained by Japan since the American landing on Mono Island on October 27 up to November 23, when operations developed in Tarawa and Makin islands, reveals that the United States suffered the following losses: instantaneously sunk, two large-sized aircraft-carriers, one medium-sized aircraft-carrier, two large-sized cruisers, five cruisers, one cruiser or large-sized destroyer, two large-sized destroyers, one destroyer and three large-sized transports; sunk, four battleships, three medium-sized aircraft-carriers, one warship of unidentified category, four large-sized cruisers, four cruisers, three cruisers or large-sized destroyers, twelve destroyers and four medium-sized and small-sized transports; damaged, two battleships, four large-sized aircraft-carriers, two medium-sized aircraft-carriers, one battleship or cruiser, ten or eleven large-sized cruisers, one cruiser, one transport, three large-sized transports, one medium-sized transport and two small transports; and shot down more than 641 planes. The Japanese losses were: two destroyers sunk, two cruisers slightly damaged and 143 planes unaccounted for. Close on the heels of these results, Japanese Navy air units attacked American positions in Gilbert Islands on November 26, and sank two aircraft-carriers, one of which was sunk instantaneously. Again on the following day, they raided American positions and sank two aircraft-carriers and two cruisers and damaged one cruiser or destroyer. On November 25 a Japanese submarine attacked and heavily damaged one enemy aircraft-carrier. The composite results in the Gilbert Islands scored by Japanese forces from November 19 to November 26 are as follows: sunk five aircraft-carriers (of which

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three were sunk instantaneously), two cruisers and one destroyer; damaged, three large-sized aircraft-carriers, one medium-sized aircraft-carrier, two cruisers or destroyers and one transport; and shot down more than 125 enemy planes. The Japanese loss consisted of twenty-one planes either self-blasted or not yet returned.

Much salutary effect on the relationship of economic reciprocity and co-operation is expected in Shanghai business circles to result from the conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance between Japan and China on October 30. Since the

Treaty Effect on Business

entry of China into the war of greater East Asia in January of this year, the Japanese Government had enforced an epochal new policy in order to help China achieve its complete sovereignty and to expedite its economic development, undertaking to bear tremendous sacrifices by removing the military restrictions on the movement of goods, retroceding concessions, transferring taxation rights and taking other measures towards those ends. The signing of the pact put the finishing touch to the implementation of the new policy. Under the terms of the treaty and the instruments annexed thereto, appropriate adjustments are to be made in the *fait accompli* of the China affair so far as circumstances permit, including changes in the so-called national policy corporations. New developments are also anticipated in the pending issues of economic adjustments between north and central China, including currency and exchange. In accordance with the principle of reciprocity, China is committed to the task of co-operating wholeheartedly with the war efforts of Japan by developing the vital resources of the country and increasing transportation capacity within and without its borders. Japan, in turn, will offer every effort conducive to the economic welfare of the Chinese people and promotion of its economic autonomy, such as by transferring enemy assets to the Nanking Government and assuring the adequate import of daily necessities.

The economic institutions of the Republic of the Philippines have recently been palpably strengthened, including the establishment of a Planning Board, appointment of a Price Policy Commission, organization of Food-stuffs Control Bureau and compilation of the new State budget. The Planning Board was created in accordance with the pronouncement of President Jose P. Laurel to that effect in the special session of the National Assembly held in October. Mr. Rafael R. Alunan, Agriculture and Commerce Minister, has been concurrently appointed Pre-

Economic Bodies Provided in P. I.

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sident of the Planning Board and Mr. Manuel Roxas, who was formerly Secretary of Finance and chairman of the National Economic Conference and who had played an important part in the establishment of Philippine national economy, has been appointed Vice-President. The immediate problem before the board is increased production of daily necessities, especially foodstuffs. It is expected that a five-year plan for such increased production will shortly be announced. The special session of the National Assembly which met in October appointed a Price Policy Commission of seven for investigating into the causes of the rise in the cost of living and for laying a report before the coming regular session of the Assembly in that regard. The Assembly also voted a rise in the salaries of officials receiving low pay from 30 to 65 pesos. The Foodstuffs Control Bureau established in the Department of Agriculture and Commerce exercises control and supervision over the production, purchase, supply and pricing of foodstuffs. The Philippine Republic has substituted the calendar year for the fiscal year. The National Assembly approved the first Government budget for the period between October 14 and December 31 to carry on the functions of the Government over that period, the sum being 24,390,000 pesos. When it is considered that the expenditure of the Philippine Government for the whole fiscal year under the old régime had been 60,000,000 pesos or so, it will be seen that the budget of the new Government will amount to more than twice the sum expended during the corresponding period in the past.

Due to the fact that Thailand has incorporated four Malay and two Shan states, the Thai Government budget for the next fiscal year, brought up in the special session of the Assembly of People's Representatives on November 1 shows an increase of fifty per cent. over the current budget of 270,000,000 bahts. The budget represents an increase in the expenses for developmental work in the regained territories, which abound in natural resources, and also redoubled economic co-operation with Japan. It includes fresh expenditure necessary for the development of the newly-acquired areas, increased armament output, productivity expansion, increased capitalization, air defence and for the spreading out of the population from the crowded cities and towns, totalling 400,000,000 bahts.

The Board of Information on November 8 published a foreign trade

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Foreign Trade Adjusted

adjustment draft plan of the Government for integrating the energies of importers and exporters in order to assure the prompt and unfailing acquisition of the materials necessary to prosecute the war. The aims of the plan are to establish comprehensive controls over foreign trade through the Foreign Trade Corporation and to make adjustments necessary for converting the surplus economic facilities into so much fighting strength. The adjustments are to be completed by the end of the current year. At the same time, a Foreign Trade Adjustments Committee has been appointed to advise the Government.

Greater East Asia Press Assembly

Under the sponsorship of the Japan Press Association, a three-day Assembly of Greater East Asia Newspapers was held in Tokyo with a view to mobilizing the entire force of the press available in the sphere for the attainment of the common war objective of all the component nations. It was attended by representative newspapermen from all parts of greater East Asia. The number of delegates was forty-three from Japan, fourteen from China, six from Manchoukuo, two each from the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya and Burma, one each from Java, Ceram and Sumatra and three from Celebes. The assembly got under way on November 17 and closed on November 19. On the first day speeches were delivered by President Eiji Amai of the Board of Information, Minister for Greater East Asia Affairs Kazuo Aoki and the spokesmen of the Army and Navy headquarters. The speakers pointed out the importance of the press in conducting the propaganda warfare and enlightening the people on the objective of creating a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere for common security and flourish. They exhorted the newspapermen of greater East Asia to contribute their best through the medium of newspaper publications to the successful waging of the current total war. The delegates of the various countries, addressing the assembly on the first and second days, expressed their resolve to act as "pen-soldiers" for the durable consummation of the mutual prosperity sentiment. On the third day the assembly adopted a declaration stating that now that greater East Asia has returned to its original status, it is the duty of newspapermen of the sphere to carry on the press war as effectively as possible. The declaration in part said: "In spite of the stubborn counter-offensive and highly deceptive propaganda of the United States and Britain, which cannot be made light of, our conviction in the successful prosecution of the war of greater East Asia and the construction of a

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greater East Asia grows firmer than ever. In Europe, Germany and our other allies have risen up with the same ideals as ours, and under the banner of constructing a new world order they are valiantly fighting to crush the inordinate ambitions of our common enemy, the United States and Britain. We take this opportunity to express our profound respect to these allies for their superb strategy and brave fighting. Recently, the leaders of the various nations of greater East Asia met in Tokyo and issued to the world a joint declaration embodying the following five basic principles : (1) mutual co-operation, (2) independence and amity, (3) enhancement of their cultures and civilizations, (4) promotion of economic prosperity and (5) contribution to the progress of mankind. These basic principles may be called the essence of the greater East Asia spirit and are worthy of becoming a great charter for the establishment of permanent world peace. It is, indeed, the responsibility of us, newspapermen, to bear part of the task of putting this great charter into practice, enlarging it and causing it to be thoroughly permeated so as to constitute the blood of the one billion peoples of greater East Asia." In order to execute the purpose of the declaration, a Greater East Asia Press Federation was formed and the Japanese Newspaper Association dissolved. President Tokichi Tanaka of the Japan Press Association was unanimously elected by the assembly as chairman of the Greater East Asia Press Federation and from among the delegates one representative each from China, Manchoukuo, Thailand, Burma and the Philippines were selected as directors. After that the assembly came to an end. Among the resolutions it passed there was one eulogizing the brilliant exploits of the Japanese armed forces and another expressing sympathy for India's independence. The holding of the assembly clearly reflected that the different press organizations of greater East Asia united as one have undertaken the responsibility of waging the propaganda warfare in a total manner.

NEW ORDER AND EAST ASIA ASSEMBLY

By HACHIRO ARITA

THE joint declaration adopted at the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations held in Tokyo on November 5 and 6 will go down in the history of Asia as the beginning of a new era. The assembly was attended by President Wang Ching-wei of China, Prince Wan Waithayakon, representative of the President of the Council of Thailand, Premier Chang Ching-hui of Manchoukuo, President Jose P. Laurel of the Republic of the Philippines, and Prime Minister Ba Maw of Burma. Following the inaugural speech by Premier General Hidéki Tohjo of Japan, who acted as chairman, these delegates of the five independent East Asiatic nations voiced the earnest co-operation of their countries with Japan for the construction of a greater East Asia and their firm and inflexible determination to proceed with the successful prosecution of the war. The joint declaration was adopted on November 6 after the close of the scheduled business of the assembly. By enumerating five points, it proclaimed the manner in which a greater East Asia was to be constructed.

The participation of President Wang Ching-wei in the assembly spoke eloquently of the fact that China, which has already secured the abolition of foreign settlements and concessions and relinquishment of extra-territoriality, has attained its full independence. Prince Wan Waithayakon's attendance reflected that Thailand, which for a long time had been subjected to French influence from the east and British pressure from the west, no longer feels menaced in any way. It may be added that Thailand, by recovering its lost territory in con-

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sequence of the new adjustment in greater East Asia, has regained its original status as a sovereign nation. Premier Chang Ching-hui's presence exemplified the ideal of the concord of five races on which Manchoukuo was founded. The Philippines, which had endured centuries of western domination, became an independent State on October 14, and President Jose P. Laurel attended the assembly as the representative of the newly established Republic. Burma's political connection with Britain became a myth when that country attained its independence on August 1. Prime Minister Dr. Ba Maw took part in the assembly as the representative of reborn Burma. The far-reaching significance of the assembly was set forth in a most clear-cut manner by Dr. Ba Maw. At the first day session of the assembly he stated:

Today, an East Asiatic Assembly is sitting in the capital of East Asia. Thus, a new world has come into existence, a new order, a new citizenship. For the first time in history, the East Asiatic peoples are meeting together as members of a free and equal brotherhood which is founded and consecrated upon the truth that East Asia is one and indivisible.

Today's gathering of the East Asiatic peoples has not appeared out of nothing, out of an empty hat as it were. It is only the climax of a long sequence of happenings which have destroyed one world and created another in East Asia. These happenings, as I have said, have been great and far-reaching. Japan's assumption of Asiatic leadership, the swift march of her invincible forces across East Asia and the equally swift destruction of the anti-Asiatic Powers, the great rally, unique in all history, of the East Asiatic peoples around Japan against the common enemy, and then, as another great turning point in our progress, the independence of Burma and the Philippines. Nothing greater or more important has ever happened to the East.

The Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations was certainly a most delightful and happy event to the peoples of Asia, but a most undesirable and lamentable happening to the Anglo-American nations. Whatever Britain and the United States may say, the assembly was a solemn occurrence, the record of which cannot be obliterated from the pages of the history of man. In this connection it would not be altogether immaterial to recall the past developments which led to the occur-

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rence of this solemn historic event. Hardly is it necessary to reiterate that Japan, with its population of 100 million packed within the limited area of 675,000 square kilometres, had to seek an outlet abroad. Its emmigration and foreign trade policies were framed as peaceful means for its legitimate expansion, aiming at nothing but the free movements of goods, services and population. Under such peaceful programmes, the Japanese nation assiduously endeavoured to develop industries and promote foreign trade. However, the Anglo-American nations and other Western Powers, as well as their colonies, built up high walls of tariff in order to prevent the importation of foreign products, especially Japanese goods. Faced with the unreasonable economic restriction, Japan tried to retrieve the situation in amity. In response to this peaceful, peace-loving attitude of Japan, Britain and the United States answered with bringing increasingly severe economic pressure to bear on this country, thereby discarding in practice the principle of free international trade utterly in contradiction of what they had been preaching. As far back as 1933, commenting on this irrational trend in word economy, the then Foreign Minister declared in part in a speech at the Diet session:

... we see that all countries are busily engaged in erecting artificial trade barriers by raising customs tariffs or by putting limitations or prohibitions on exports and imports. It is to be greatly regretted that as a result of this policy of the closed door which is now practised everywhere in trade and industry, the universally cherished principle of the freedom of trade has been entirely reversed. The principle of free exchange of goods between nations constitutes along with that of freedom of travel and residence the very foundation of general progress and prosperity. Whenever this cardinal principle ceases to operate smoothly, there will be no means of realizing the common well-being and prosperity of all nations and no hope for the true progress and peace of mankind.

The aforesaid note of warning sounded by Japan, however, failed to catch the ears of Powers, which intensified all the more their restrictive trade measures against Japanese merchandise. The Powers, on realizing their entire inability to shut out of the world markets Japanese goods, instrumented the

so-called theory of social dumping against Japan as a pretext for boycotting Japanese merchandise. These facts should be recalled by those Britishers and Americans who wishfully accuse Japan of scheming to set up an economic *bloc* of East Asia on the basis of a selfish and monopolistic isolationism. They should contrast the earlier unreasonable attitude of their Governments to what Japan today justly insists upon. It is incontrovertible that Britain and the United States, by pursuing the policy of oppression of Japan, have compelled this country to protect its self-existence by establishing economic reciprocity with the nations of greater East Asia. Should the concept of *bloc* economy be considered unjust, Britain and America, which drove Japan to it, must shoulder the responsibility for its future development. It must be remembered that Japan shifted itself from the principle of free trade to the idea of *bloc* economy, because it was forced to do so under the circumstances. However, there are ample justification and wisdom in the theory of *bloc* economy itself. The formation of economic *blocs* as regional groups closely co-operating among themselves economically is deemed a process which the world has had to undergo sooner or later.

Although Britain proper is limited in area to 240,000 square kilometres and has a population of 46 million, the dimensions of the British Empire are set at more than 35,000,000 square kilometres comprising a total population of 490 million. The United States proper has an area of more than 7,800,000 square kilometres populated only by some 120 million souls. In addition, it possesses the territories of Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Virgin Island, Samoa and so forth. The area of the Soviet Union reaches 21,350,000 square kilometres and it is inhabited by as few as 170 million people. It is not too much to say that each of these three countries possesses practically all kinds of vital and strategic resources within its boundaries. Thus all of them are totally free from unreasonable economic pressure from other nations. Security of a nation cannot be attained by armed defence (in the narrow sense of

the term) alone. There have been many cases of first-rate Powers of the world unwillingly yielding to unreasonable contentions and demands of other Powers simply on account of their economic weakness. In this respect, the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union are in very strong positions and their territories are well secured. The circumstances were radically different in the case of a country such as Japan, the area of which is restricted to 675,000 square kilometres. Frequently in the past its sense of security was menaced. As a matter of fact, it had to depend on foreign trade for the solution of its population and food problems and accordingly had to bend its strenuous efforts in the expansion of trade by producing at the lowest possible cost goods of superior quality; but its merchandise were shut out of the world markets. Again, on the outbreak of the Manchurian incident, Japan was subjected to the threat of the so-called economic sanctions. Under such circumstances, and as long as the Anglo-American countries assumed unreasonable, selfish attitude, despite their rich and vast territories, it was not at all unnatural nor irrational nor unlawful for Japan, Manchoukuo, China and other East Asiatic regions to try to form a sphere for the closer economic, as well as political, collaboration for realizing the ideal of co-existence and common prosperity.

Notwithstanding this, when Japan advocated the creation of a new order in East Asia, the Anglo-American Powers alleged that Japan was attempting to set up an economic *bloc* in East Asia for its monopolistic and selfish control. As for Japan, it has never intended to exclude the legitimate economic activities of Britain and the United States from East Asia; as a matter of fact, it believed it impossible to do so. Japan, prior to the outbreak of the present war in greater East Asia, believed that even when a regional economic group consisting of East Asiatic countries was organized on the basis of close, reciprocal relations it would in no way cause a shrinkage of trade between that region and other parts of the world, but rather would serve to enhance international commerce. In other words, the

new order in East Asia as proposed by Japan was to form an economic unit through economic unity and co-operation among the countries within East Asia as one link of world economy. Japan, indeed, believed that such an economic unit in this part of the world would contribute to the healthy development of world economy as it grew stronger. Thus Japan lost no opportunity to explain the underlying principles of the proposed new order in East Asia, but the Anglo-American nations deliberately declined to appreciate its true character, for their minds were biased and blinded by the selfish motives of controlling vast resources in East Asia and Africa. The principle of free trade, however rational it may be, cannot rule out the fact that the nation controlling vast resources will win the race. Herein rests the necessity of organizing a regional economic *bloc* to a certain extent.

Factors responsible for the complete failure of the League of Nations are many; but one of the fundamental causes is found in the fact that the League, without giving due consideration to regional realities in different parts of the world, attempted to manage all the world affairs of minor and major importance alike from Geneva. The League of Nations primarily should have been a "League of the European Nations" instead of a world-wide organization. Its failure has read the lesson that a structure for world peace should be constructed on the joint foundations of different regional fabrics. In the past, scores of large and small nations controlled the international life, maintaining their independence on an equal footing. Although restricted by treaties and agreements, each of them enjoyed the freedom of integrity and was at liberty to enter into international contracts and arrangements even inimical to its neighbours, in most cases, under influences of major imperialistic Powers. This has been particularly conspicuous in the case of Europe. It is for this reason that a regional peace structure should be set up on the basis of regional interdependence and international goodwill before any world peace structure is conceived. A regional arrangement of this nature is necessary not only for

political reasons, but for economic reasons, too. And herein can be perceived the inevitability of having certain spheres of common prosperity in the world.

As has often been pointed out by Japan, permanent peace of the world cannot be attained unless each nation is permitted to secure its proper position. The ideal underlying the founding of the Japanese Empire conforms to this moral order. Japan has all along recognized that people should enjoy the right to acquire their due place in the family of nations. It has never treated a nation as unworthy of cherishing legitimate aspirations for freedom and independence. Britain, America and the Netherlands, all have practised racial discrimination against subject peoples. The oppressed nations of Asia, therefore, being indignant at their self-appointed overlordship, have been exerting their utmost to regain their proper places in the family of nations. Shortly after the outbreak of the current war in greater East Asia, all the nations of this region rose as one unit to recapture their destined status. They found that the ideal of Japan harmonized with their long-cherished aspirations. Naturally, they became the willing collaborators of this country to create a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere as a means to attain durable mutual salvation and renaissance of the region not merely for their own benefit, but for the good of the whole world. Upon such a moral basis, the evolution of a greater East Asia sphere of co-existence and common prosperity is now taking place.

The old order of the world based on capitalist-imperialism is no longer tenable. National structures and political and economic systems of all nations must undergo sweeping readjustments to create a new international and inter-racial life entirely divorced from capitalist-imperialism, but based on inter-regional, as well as intra-regional, dependence and international goodwill. By professing these sublime principles, the countries of greater East Asia are desirous of maintaining internally closer liaison and co-operation among themselves in political, economic and cultural fields and externally good-

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neighbourly understanding with other regions.

The holding of the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations has made it more than obvious that the construction of a greater East Asia is justified from the standpoint of assuring common existence, mutual prosperity and security and maintaining peace and stability of the region. The nations of greater East Asia do not entertain selfish, isolationist and monopolistic ideas. They realize that any regional group of nations or races would not be able to attain a state of perfect self-sufficiency were it to retire behind the walls of isolationism and monopolistic economy. The groups that may be formed in various parts of the world must inevitably depend upon each other for certain categories of materials and, at the same time, there will be many kinds of goods which the different spheres could exchange to their mutual benefit and advantage. The sphere of greater East Asia, as soon as conditions permit, will co-operate freely and to the greatest possible extent with other parts of the world, while striving for the co-ordinated development of the vast resources within its boundaries for the ultimate purpose of yielding benefit to mankind. This objective is clearly set forth in the fifth point of the joint declaration adopted at the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations. Japan, ever since the adoption of the progressive open door policy at the time of the Meiji Restoration, has consistently made endeavours to contribute to the progress of world civilization. It may thus be said that the fifth point of the joint declaration embodies this traditional policy of Japan.

The Anglo-American nations may have hoped to see the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations end in a fiasco and decry the significance of the greater East Asia sphere of common prosperity; but they are quite powerless to alter an historic fact. They should accept without prejudice this solemn fact of history along with the determination of East Asiatic nations expressed at the assembly, which attitude is prerequisite to the establishment of a righteous peace in the world. The determination of the countries of East Asia expressed in the fifth

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point of the Joint Declaration that they "will cultivate friendly relations with all the countries of the world, and work for the abolition of racial discriminations, the promotion of cultural intercourse and the opening of resources throughout the world, and contribute thereby to the progress of mankind" certainly forms what can be called the *Magna Carta* of the world.

ASIA DECLARATION AND ATLANTIC CHARTER

By *HIKOMATSU KAMIKAWA*

WHEN the two-day Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations held in Tokyo on November 5 and 6 adopted a five-point joint declaration at the close of the session, the aspiration of the peoples of this section of the Orient to foster inter-country homogeneity and mutual security and thus contribute to the maintenance of world peace assumed a historic significance. The assembly was attended by the distinguished representatives of Japan, China, Manchoukuo, Thailand, Burma and the Philippines. The Head of the Provisional Government of Free India watched its proceedings as an observer. This was the first occasion in modern times that so many Oriental countries gathered together at a conference to express pan-Asiatic solidarity without being saddled with third Power interference.

Before Japan liquidated the influences of Britain and the United States from greater East Asia, the entire region remained as the happy hunting-ground of alien capitalist-imperialists. By creating divisions among the contiguous countries, the Anglo-American nations managed to have their way in manipulating the destiny of greater East Asia. Then when Japan reduced the intervention of Britain and the United States and declared its policy of restoring each nation of the sphere to its rightful place, a surging wave of pan-Asiatic concord overflowed into this part of the Orient, and all the component countries determined themselves to march forward unitedly for the creation of a greater East Asia so as to impede permanently the incursion of outside aggrandizement.

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Earlier, while Burma and the Philippines regained their sovereign status by attaining independence, Malaya and the East Indies obtained the right of participating in the administration commensurate with the degree of their capability. At the same time, a Provisional Government of Free India came to be formed and it received the due recognition of Japan, the friendly Powers and the independent nations of greater East Asia. In this manner, the foundation for the development of pan-Asiatic solidarity was laid. In view of the new development, it was considered right and proper that the nations of greater East Asia should meet in a conference to proclaim their united will in regard to the evolution of a regional doctrine for common good, as well as for the benefit of the world. In consequence, the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations was held, at which a regional doctrine, with the unanimous consent of all the participating countries, was framed to facilitate the promotion of sphere-living and sphere-understanding as energetically as possible.

No one can dispute the fact that the joint declaration, adopted at the assembly, which is in the nature of a regional doctrine, is an unprecedented event in the annals of East Asia. It not only symbolizes the self-asserting independent spirit of each of the nations of greater East Asia, but also their intuitive urge to live in cordiality with other spheres of the world. From the moral point of view, it marks the beginning of an age of Oriental renaissance and, from the political standpoint, it denotes the commencement of a new era of regionalism of Asiatic creation. The Greater East Asia Doctrine is not a conception which has been suddenly raised to prominence; it has been enunciated in conformity with the long-standing ideal of pan-Asianism as an attempt to revert to the Oriental order of intercourse in a purely Oriental sphere. Because of this conceptional sublimity, it towers above the Anglo-American objective as revealed in the Atlantic Charter.

The evolution of the Greater East Asia Doctrine, in international parlance, means the firing of the first deadly hemispheric

shot at the old world capitalist-imperialist structure favoured by Britain and the United States. It is a powerful explosive charged with the capacity to detonate the intrusive desire of London and Washington in the conduct of life and living in the sphere of greater East Asia. It does not aim at encroaching upon the way of life of other spheres, but proposes to bear its share in the maintenance of international tranquillity and well-being. It is apparent that the Atlantic Charter is based upon self-interest, which wishes to guide the inter-sphere intercourse in accordance with the Anglo-American world control policy drafted by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. In sharp contrast, the Greater East Asia Joint Declaration expounds the principle of common prosperity and safety in its own sphere without harbouring in the least any intention of imposing itself on the activities of other regions of the globe. Even within its sphere, it guarantees respect for individual State liberty; whereas the Atlantic Charter contains suggestions for the installing of such individual State liberties as are suitable to the political and economic taste of London and Washington.

Owing to the cataclysmic changes in international intercourse and political ideologies, the conception that certain powerful nations should take upon themselves the responsibility of conducting the affairs of the world has become untenable. Prior to the precipitation of the current global hostilities, Britain and the United States conducted international affairs by equipping themselves with all the weapons required for retaining their world supremacy. They executed steps to amortize the legitimate aspirations of the dissatisfied Powers aimed at the resumption of their share of control in the administration of international affairs. Faced with such obstructions, the dissatisfied Powers agreed among themselves to organize their spheres of influence in their respective contiguous areas. Thus the political ideology of evolving a new order in Europe came to be propagated. In East Asia, too, a similar ideology took root to overthrow the super-imposed Anglo-American politico-economic control. As a result of these developments, sphere-politics is being

strongly advocated by the rising nations to shape their own way of life and international intercourse. It is quite plain that sphere-politics has now become an accepted political ideology. Japan and the nations of greater East Asia, in order to vitalize the growth of sphere-politics, have jointly propounded the Greater East Asia Doctrine as their common political and economic safety valve.

The Atlantic Charter does not subscribe to sphere-politics as envisioned by Japan, Germany and the nations allied to them. It has drawn the blueprint of a world politics preferable only to Britain and the United States. For that reason, it is a political antilogy which is contralateral on one side and unilateral on the other, and as such, it cannot but be challenged by Japan, Germany and their allies. The Greater East Asia Joint Declaration is antipodal to the Atlantic Charter, because it seeks to reconstruct the region of greater East Asia as one of the component spheres of the projected new world order fabric, enjoying the freedom of action in the conduct of its own affairs unharassed and unhampered by third Power manœuvres. Moreover, it embodies the Oriental moral principles and the Oriental sense of justice, universality and human fellowship. Internally, it acknowledges that each unit of the sphere should have the independent right to administer its national affairs, and externally, it makes it obligatory on the part of all the units to insure common prosperity and security by professing a common ideal of joint living and defence.

For the purpose of practicalizing the smooth execution of the Greater East Asia Doctrine, it has become absolutely necessary to organize a new order in this quarter of the globe. The first point of the joint declaration says: "The countries of greater East Asia through mutual co-operation will ensure the stability of their region and construct an order of common prosperity and well-being." A new order built upon common prosperity and well-being cannot under any circumstances be characterized as a machinery to yield profits to a particular nation. Inasmuch as it discountenances plutocratic exploita-

tion and capitalistic aggression, it has to operate by adhering to the principles of non-domination, non-exploitation and non-aggression. In other words, it has to become a joint machinery of all the units of the sphere, each playing its proper rôle for its individual advancement and also that of the region as a whole. This being the interpretation of the first point of the declaration, it can be said with force that the principle laid down in it is more idealistic, humanistic and justifiable than the conception of inter-country harmony proposed in the Atlantic Charter, which is one-sided, plutocratic and domineering.

The political and legislative fabrics of the envisaged new order in greater East Asia will be constructed without encroaching upon the autonomy and independence of the units; but with the fixed intention of invigorating mutual aid and amity. The second point states: "The countries of greater East Asia will ensure the fraternity of nations in their region by respecting one another's sovereignty and independence and practising mutual assistance and amity." Under the Atlantic Charter, the respect for one another's sovereignty and independence and promotion of mutual assistance and amity tend to suggest that only Britain and the United States along with the nations under their domination would have the power to formulate a type of national freedom, friendship and collaboration which would be advantageous to the perpetuation of their world order project with a view to denying Japan, Germany and their partners the right to find their proper places in the comity of nations. Since the Atlantic Charter opposes the creation of non-Anglo-American spheres in the world, it is more than apparent that it is not a doctrine which wishes to respect the sovereignty and independence of those nations which are desirous of setting up separate joint spheres. The second point of the Greater East Asia Doctrine specifically recognizes the respect for the sovereignty and independence of the nations of the sphere—a recognition which discloses that the construction of a greater East Asia would be accomplished by voluntary co-operation. The very principle of voluntary co-operation is evidence enough that

neither Japan nor any other nation of greater East Asia has any inclination to become embroiled in the affairs of other spheres.

If all the nations can enjoy freedom and equality and reciprocate good-neighbourliness, there would be no necessity to foster regionalism. Such an utopia stands the chance of materialization if and when plutocratic Powers and capitalistic oligarchies are made to surrender their self-interest. The events of history show that it is not at all possible for smaller and weaker nations to enjoy freedom and equality unless they make common cause with their potential neighbours. Due to the severe pressure brought to bear upon Japan, Germany and the nations contiguous to them by the Anglo-American Powers, the countries of greater East Asia and those of Europe have banded themselves together in their respective spheres to enjoy the benefit of freedom and equality and reciprocate good-neighbourliness. The southern countries, which experienced alien domination in the past, do not feel that Japan is behaving toward them like a Power; on the contrary, they are convinced that Japan is endeavouring its best to assist them in regaining their destined status in greater East Asia for common flourish, security and solidarity. Because of this conviction, the Greater East Asia Doctrine has been propounded by mutual consent to safeguard the integrity of the region against unhealthy third Power penetration.

The third point announces: "The countries of greater East Asia, by respecting one another's traditions and developing the creative faculties of each race, will enhance the culture and civilization of greater East Asia." The chief lesson learnt from the past history is that the deterioration in the culture and civilization of Asia enabled Western Powers to stabilize their hegemony in the Orient. It is, therefore, natural that the nations of greater East Asia would pledge themselves to rectify that defect by undertaking the task of developing their culture and civilization—a task which is as important as the building of the new political and economic structure of the region. The

Atlantic Charter, which professes the promotion of the civilization of the world, is, in reality, plans to impose the Anglo-American culture on Asia, including this region. The third point of the joint declaration is so righteous and laudable that no right-thinking person can offer any opinion to question its legitimacy.

The fourth point declares: "The countries of greater East Asia will endeavour to accelerate their economic development through close co-operation upon a basis of reciprocity and promote thereby the general prosperity of the region." The Anglo-American conception of economic freedom and reciprocity is that Britain and the United States would be allowed to assume the position of economic policemen in the acquisition and distribution of world resources and in the governance of world trade. They are opposing the construction of a greater East Asia, for they do not want that the countries of this region should develop economic reciprocity by resisting the operation of their capitalist-imperialism. It is common knowledge that the nations of greater East Asia have been compelled to resort to economic unity to sever their Anglo-American economic bondage. Resenting the power-capitalism of London and Washington which suppressed their right to formulate their own economic policies, they have now resolved themselves to give effect to mutual prosperity economy to protect their economic existence and good-standing. The Atlantic Charter, which sets forth the pursuance of proper economic intercourse, intends to reintroduce the Anglo-American economic system into greater East Asia. It is needless to add that this intention is highly objectionable, especially when the conception of greater East Asia economic reciprocity does not endorse the policy of curtailing even within its zone the legitimate economic enterprises of the nations of other spheres.

The fifth point reads: "The countries of greater East Asia will cultivate friendly relations with all the countries of the world and work for the abolition of racial discriminations, the promotion of cultural intercourse and the opening of resources

throughout the world and contribute thereby to the progress of mankind." From this expression, it is palpable that the sphere of greater East Asia earnestly desires to live in cordiality with other regions of the world and hopes to play its due part in the progressive advancement of international culture, so that the interest of mankind would not be jeopardized. Furthermore, it gives a prior guarantee that it would work for the abolition of racial discriminations. For a long time, the Western nations have been manifesting an attitude of colour prejudice toward the Eastern races. Britain and America, which champion equality and "democracy," have practised and are still practising racial discriminations against the Oriental races. The region of greater East Asia, having now become free from Anglo-American control, considers it indispensable that colour prejudice toward the Asiatic nations must be abolished to bring about friendship and harmony between the peoples of the Occident and the Orient. Its expectation in respect of the opening of world resources indicates that it would throw open its sphere to international economic intercourse with the object of reaching an agreement whereby the different spheres of the world would collaborate with each other in the acquisition and distribution of the resources available throughout the world. All these aims are so unselfish and humanitarian that no comparison can be made between them and those of the Atlantic Charter, which in its ultimate effect unilaterally legitimizes the establishment of Anglo-American world hegemony.

The Greater East Asia Joint Declaration frankly and forcefully lays down the principles under which a durable regional sphere embracing the nations of this part of the Orient would be organized. None of its five points contains any slight suggestion that greater East Asia would attempt to impose itself on the activities of other spheres. From the viewpoint of the sphere-living, it is a protectionist doctrine and, from the world angle, it is an international formula designed to yield wholesome benefit to humanity at large. Idealistically, it expresses the sincere desire of the peoples of greater East Asia to remain true

to the ideal of "live and let live." All the points of the declaration transparently reflect that it is beyond doubt a doctrine of mutual prosperity and security, and that it has been enunciated to furnish a new incentive to the rapid march of world friendship and culture. The Atlantic Charter embodies propositions for the creation of such conditions as would be helpful to the entrenchment of the Anglo-American politico-economic system in the world. The nations of greater East Asia, by enunciating the mutual prosperity doctrine, have raised the signal for international harmony and fellowship. A doctrine of this nature cannot be criticized as an instrument of exploitation; it has to be viewed as an orthodox expression of the will of a section of the Orient, born out of the ideal of pan-Asianism, for the cause of contributing to universal understanding, peace and stability.

WAR AIMS OF AMERICA

By YASAKA TAKAGI

FOR a fair and accurate appraisal of American statements and declarations regarding war aims, a historical approach is necessary. I begin this brief survey, therefore, by submitting what I venture to call the historical background. What I intend to depict here in broad strokes for brevity's sake, is a fact, which underlies all the major policies of the United States in general, and her Oriental policies in particular, namely, that her policies have always shown what may be called a steady parallelism or characteristic intertwinement of idealistic, humanitarian sentiments and realistic, material interest. In other words, the Far Eastern policy of the United States has always been characterized by its dualistic nature comprising both idealistic and realistic factors.

The above fact can be very clearly recognized if one were to examine the so-called open door policy, which term I use to cover the policy of equal opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations and the policy of integrity of China. Americans are wont to describe this open door policy as idealistic and philanthropic; that it prevented China from being partitioned among greedy Powers, checking the designs of imperialistic nations; and that it safeguarded China's independence and territorial and administrative entity.

Well-balanced and objective studies of the subject show, however, that the open door policy was essentially a very realistic policy, embodying positive, expansionist programme cherished among comparatively few leaders of the vigorous, ascending, newly industrialized, capitalistic America at the turn of the century and representing *Realpolitik* pursued by some far-seeing

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politicians and strategists to promote the interest of the new world Power along the lines of economic imperialism.

With all due regard to the idealistic or philanthropic factor of this policy, one cannot help admitting that it was, essentially, a policy of economic expansionism, ultimately aiming at the enormous potential market of China for American trade and investment. It is not at all necessary to argue this point; for it is admitted, as a matter of fact, by practically all fair-minded American scholars.¹ It is sometimes called a policy of intervention, or an imperialistic measure for economic penetration.

That the open door policy, with such a nature as this, constituted a phase of America's dollar diplomacy should not at all be wondered. As a matter of fact, it formed a wing of America's world policy, as the counterpart of her Caribbean policy, the foundation of both of which having been laid almost simultaneously in that great transitional period of American foreign policy on the eve of the present century, when the United States launched on the pathway of imperialism. The dollar diplomacy at its flood tide, a little later during the Taft administration, was aptly characterized by the President as a policy "substituting dollars for bullets." And it may be said to have been also a very symbolical and perhaps ominous characterization of the open door policy.

In spite of President Wilson's repeated endeavours to recede, steps of dollar diplomacy were virtually carried forward during and after the last World War, especially by preparing the way for America's financial penetration in China. The establishment of the new Four-Power Consortium was a case in point.

The closer relationship and co-operation between Great Britain and the United States, both of whom felt growing apprehension toward Japan, especially since the so-called "twenty-one demands" of 1915 and because of her increasing strength in subsequent years, was already conspicuous in the consortium

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negotiations; but the Washington Conference was its major result. Needless to say, the Nine-Power Treaty, by which the open door policy was incorporated at last in a treaty, was one of its important achievements. This treaty has thus come to be, in reality, an instrument to serve the purpose of peaceful economic expansion of American and British industries and capitals in China.

The so-called peace policy of the United States—a major principle of American foreign policy to the effect that the conduct of international relations shall proceed on the basis of peace—has in recent years been made so much of that it is sometimes called the fourth and last major principle of American foreign policy, side by side with the policy of isolation, the Monroe Doctrine and the open door policy. There is not the slightest doubt that such propositions as the peaceful settlement of international controversies, renunciation of force, or maintenance of law and order in international relations are worthy of support, as a matter of broad principles, by all the peoples of the world. But, here again, behind the philanthropic and ideological policy one should not fail to recognize the lurking face of the interest of "haves" or satisfied nations, which is safeguarded by the maintenance of *status quo*.

The idealistic phase of the open door policy was thus reinforced by the advocacy of peace policy with the result, naturally, of redoubling the inevitable involvement of the idealistic with the realistic. The process is shown clearly in the history of American policy toward Japan regarding Sino-Japanese conflicts, evidenced by such incidents as the indictment of Japan as the violator of the Nine-Power Treaty and the Pact of Paris and the advocacy of the so-called Stimson Doctrine of Non-recognition.

Lastly, we find confirmation for our thesis also in the so-called domestic sources of foreign policy in connection with the American idea of "national interest," which has come to loom large after all the efforts of "new deal" of the present administration.

¹ Tyler Dennett, Charles A. Beard, B. H. Williams and others.

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The programmes of "new deal," while aiming fundamentally at the adjustment of national life, by planning and control for the general welfare of the people, that is to say, primarily at self-contained national economy—have come strangely enough to develop a phase which has a close connection with international politics and economics. The process of the metamorphosis is not difficult to understand when one realizes the steps more or less naturally leading up: from unemployment relief to encouragement of public works (especially building warships, airplanes and other military equipment); and from expansion of industrial production to that of munition industries. Notwithstanding repeated "neutrality" resolutions and acts, financial and political entanglements of America with Europe and elsewhere had grown with an alarming pace, through such steps as the Lease-Lend Act, making her involvement in war almost inevitable.

At the same time, the concepts of "social security" and "full employment" have come to be inextricably rooted in the minds of the American people, symbolizing their demand for the maintenance of their improved standard of life. The fact that President Roosevelt made special reference to the "freedom from want," that is to say to the guarantee of full employment in the aftermath of this war, reflects the prevailing demand among the people in general. Thus the popular demand for the security of American standard of life can be said today to constitute the concept of "national interest," and, as such, has come to be an important factor in the formation of international policy.

The popular slogan, "American way of life," which has repeatedly been used in recent years to denote the precious things of life to be defended against the attack of dictators, apparently implied, not only the "principles of democracy" or "democratic way of life," but also the improved standard of living which has already been attained by the Americans. The dualism in American foreign policy as evidenced in this catchword would seem to be increasingly clear. The leaders of the

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Chungking régime might well query whether America's policy of aiding them in the name of "democracy" is not associated directly with the ultimate objective of upholding the high American standard of living.

II

Such dualism or parallelism between the idealistic and realistic in American foreign policy is very clearly noticeable in the so-called "fundamental principles of international policy," which was proclaimed by Secretary of State Hull on July 16, 1937. The statement may be summarized and grouped into several major items such as

- (1) Maintenance of peace; renunciation of use of force among nations; and strengthening of international law;
- (2) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations; peaceful adjustment of international controversies;
- (3) Sanctity of international agreements; and modification of treaties by orderly processes;
- (4) Measures relating to economic security and stability of the world; and equality of opportunity;
- (5) Limitation of armament; and
- (6) Co-operation among nations.

It is, after all, a conglomeration or embodiment of principles by both the peace policy and the open door policy; and reveals in each of its items, as well as in the document as a whole, dual bases of idealism and realism.

The Atlantic Charter is also indicative of very similar underlying precepts and principles. This joint declaration, like the above-mentioned statement, contains, among its eight points, several political principles derived from "democratic" ideals, together with certain economic principles more or less bound with the preconceived post-war conditions. Without going into the details of this declaration, it is sufficient for us here to consider one point (sixth point),² that which deals with

² Establishment of "a peace which will afford to all nations a means of dwelling in safety . . . and will afford an assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from want and fear."

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the individual security, as the most typical, and repeat that here, too, the dualism of intertwined idealistic and realistic bases is quite marked, as in the case with each and all of the items.

III

The broad outline of America's war aims gathered from statements of leaders of the United States Government is as follows :

(a) President Roosevelt proclaimed, in his message to the Congress, at the outbreak of the present Pacific war, that it was the will of the American people, in the face of the "surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area," ... against "the very life and safety of our nation," "to overcome this premeditated invasion ... to win through to absolute victory," that "we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost, but will make it certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us" (December 8, 1942). He referred to this war as one in which "the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life;" "a war ... for a world in which this nation and all that this nation represents will be safe for our children" (radio address, December 9), and asserted that "the sources of international brutality ... must be absolutely and finally broken" to save the world from the rule "by the principles of gangsterism." In his message of December 15, 1941, he mentioned as "certain basic principles, which should govern international relations" and which had been "steadfastly advocated" by the United States in the course of the last negotiations with Japan, the four general principles presented in the note of October 2, 1941. Then he described the war, as would be expected, in the following words :

We are now at war. We are fighting in self-defence. We are fighting in defence of our national existence, of our right to be secure, of our right to enjoy the blessings of peace. We are fighting in defence of principles of law and order and justice, against an effort of unprecedented ferocity to overthrow those principles and to impose upon humanity a régime of ruthless domination by unrestricted and arbitrary force.

In the annual message (January 6, 1942) he mentioned as

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war "objectives:" "the objective of smashing the militarism . . . ; the objective of liberating the subjugated nations ; and the objective of establishing and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear everywhere in the world."

The last objective sounded especially familiar, for it was fresh in everyone's memory that, just a year ago, the President had proclaimed "four fundamental human freedoms," expressing his grave concern over the "direct attack upon the democratic way of life."

In his budget message next day (January 7, 1942), he said : "... we are determined to pay whatever price we must to preserve our way of life." During the same year he has made mention of war aims a few times. On one of these occasions, he said : "In the concept of the four freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives" (September 3, 1942).

It was in the annual message of 1943 that President Roosevelt, after describing extensively the progress of war activities, took up, with reference to broad aims beyond the winning of the war, the last two of the four freedoms, as matters of great concern of "the men in our armed forces" and "the people at home" alike. He dealt quite fully with the question of assurance of "permanent employment"—freedom from want, and the question of lasting peace, of "a decent, secure, peaceful life for every man everywhere"—freedom from fear.

The same idea of four freedoms appeared also in his more recent pronouncements. The general trend would seem to be a marked emphasis of "unconditional surrender" since the Casablanca Conference and recurrence of assurance of full employment, which apparently reflects growing notion of "national interest" among the American people.

(b) Secretary of State Hull made an important broadcast on July 23, 1942, in which he said that the objective of the present conflict for each of the United Nations "is the preservation of its freedom, its homes, its very existence." He made

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another reference this spring on the "universally applicable" principles of international policy in his address on the Pan-American Day (April 14, 1943) and said:

In this great drama, amid the clash of arms, in our march forward for military victory, it is more important than ever for us all to keep clearly before mankind the principle to which we have dedicated ourselves. The success of the inter-American family of nations rests on observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, law, order, justice, morality, non-intervention, friendliness and co-operation. We emphasized these principles insistently at a time when they were being increasingly neglected and ignored and were even subjected to scoffing and derision.

His attitude was made even clearer in his recent address of September 12. He begins with accepting the assumption that "the foreign policy of any country must be expressive of that country's fundamental national interests." He then proceeds to state:

Beyond final victory, our fundamental national interests are just as they always have been in the assuring of our national security and the fostering of the economic and social well-being of our people. To maintain these interests, our foreign policy must necessarily deal with current conditions and must plan for the future in the light of the concepts and beliefs which we, as a nation, accept for ourselves as the guiding lines of our international behaviour.

And as the outstanding among these beliefs, he mentions substantially the following six items: (1) All peoples' right to enjoyment of liberty; (2) equality among sovereign nations; (3) non-interference in internal affairs; (4) peaceful settlement of international disputes and respect for international law and order; (5) non-discrimination in economic opportunity and treatment; and (6) international co-operation founded on the principles of liberty, justice, morality and law.

These are the rules of conduct, according to Secretary of State Hull, on which a system of international relations is to be established. Such new system was the goal of common efforts of the United Nations; and the Atlantic Charter is said to be the representative declaration of such common endeavours.

Secretary Hull also emphasizes the necessity of organized international co-operation, especially establishment of structures

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for coercion, for the maintenance of peace. This last point, by the way, was a subject which had come to be discussed by various leaders, such, for instance as former President Hoover in his address of December, 18, 1942.

(c) Former Under-Secretary of State Welles has probably made more pronouncements than any other public men regarding America's war aims. While he has frequently declared that, the American people were fighting for the independence of their nation, and "for the right to live in a decent and a peaceful world" (e. g. Boston address of October 12, 1942), it is noteworthy that, early this year, he publicly stated (somewhat similar to Secretary Hull's admission on September 12 address) that the determining factor of American foreign policy was "what the American people believe is their real, their practical self-interest" (February 4, 1943, Maryland University address).

In his Toronto University address (February 26), he brings out the question of full employment for the people as one worthy of very thorough discussion and implementation among nations; and then he makes the following remarks:

What the people of the United States are striving for, I am persuaded, is exactly what the people of Canada are striving for; they seek the attainment of the noble objectives set forth in the Atlantic Charter. They seek to achieve these not because of any altruistic motives, not through the dictates of any theoretical idealism, but rather because they believe that the attainment of these objectives will be in their own self-interest.

His address at the New York State Chamber of Commerce (April 1) was conspicuous because of his discussion of "the problem of maintaining the present level of employment and at the same time reabsorbing millions of demobilized soldiers." In his Pan-American Day address, he pointed out that "vast strides toward the attainment of the standard of living and of individual security" was a "great challenge of post-war world to inter-American relations." Such repeated considerations of the living and security of the people seem to reflect significantly the popular idea of war and peace.

It may not be entirely out of place to add here a word regarding the trend of public opinion in the United States.

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With the growing pressure or pinch of the total war upon the life of the people, the popular demand for the realistic national interest, especially the maintenance and security of living, seems to have come increasingly upon the surface, and loomed large in the popular discussions of post-war problems and objectives of war. Thus an interdependent relationship between the recent tendency in the statements of public men and in the expression of public opinion has come to be quite noticeable.

The future prospect of the American war aims derived from the above considerations is that the traditional dual bases will always remain prominent in their formation. They will invariably find expression in the emphasis of idealism on the one hand, in the advocacy of such principles as liberty and peace, and of realism on the other, and in such requisites as safeguarding of standard of living and maintenance of *status quo*. This dualism is deeply rooted in the ideals and ideas of "democracy" and, therefore, it is quite natural that it should adhere, politically, to the ideas of liberty, self-government, peace, non-aggression and the like, and economically, to the idea of the welfare and security of the nationals.

Suffice it to say here that American emphasis on idealism, with all its faults and dangers to be discussed later, is not a mere smoke-screen, as is often alleged, to cover its selfish, realistic designs. It is a mistake to call it a hypocrisy, or even a mere opportunism. Such misconception will inevitably entail very grave miscalculation. It has been significantly pointed out that "democracy" is the very foundation of the American nationality, and also the basis of American unity. It is an undeniable historical fact that the American people has fought, more than once, long hard wars in defence of "democracy." Let us hear what Americans themselves have to say on this subject, for it has a direct bearing upon the question of war aims.

"What distinguishes this country," wrote R. L. Buell in 1940, "from Britain and France is that America was a democracy before it was a nation. Its existence has rested upon a moral faith both in the inherent worth of the common man and

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in his capacity for reason. Our national spirit rests upon the belief that the object of society should be to create conditions of opportunity in which the most humble should be free to develop his talents, tempered by a sense of equality and social obligation." . . . "A moral concern [extending beyond its boundaries] is a national interest [at stake in the present conflict]." . . . "If America abandons the moral conception upon which its democracy rests, it undermines the only real foundation of American unity. The Americans are justified in attacking Communism and Nazism not because of their international ties, but because of their values which are antagonistic to American life." . . . "The fathers of this country did not intend that the American way of life should stop at the water's edge." (*Isolated America*, pp. 321, 322, 325, 327, etc.)

IV

From the above cursory survey we are now in a position to proceed to our appraisal of America's aims of, as well as the steps which led up to, this war, with an understanding of the general background of her traditional foreign policies.

(1) With regard to the open door policy, we have already seen that it was essentially a policy of economic imperialism, and of interference in affairs of other continents. An important sequence is the fact that that policy would have served for the prolongation, if not perpetuation, of the semi-colonial status of China, had it been allowed to pursue its own course without impediment.

Every one would recall that at the very moment when the United States was protesting in the name of the open door principle against the so-called "twenty-one demands" of Japan, and for more than ten years thereafter, she was herself intent upon building up her position of paramount interest or hegemony in the sphere of the Caribbean—with strong measures, if necessary, swayed against weaker nations of that region. It is true that the United States could reinforce her open door policy in the Orient with her peace policy. But it should not blur the fact

that exactly under the very principle of renunciation of force and the maintenance of *status quo* she was able to resort to her heart's content to the economic power, which was by far the most effective weapon at her command.

Such was the substance of the open door principle shown in its true colours. Henry Adams once characterized this kind of economic expansionism as "McKinleyism; the system of combinations, consolidations, trusts, realized at home, and realizable abroad." No one who is familiar with the devastating power of domination of "big business" can help wondering whether its penetration abroad could have only beneficent result, although John Hay's favourite idea was to regard the Anglo-American co-operation in world politics as "partnership of beneficence." On the contrary, the open door policy would probably have made it increasingly difficult for China to emerge from its semi-colonial status. Dr. Beard goes a step further in his appraisal of this policy and expresses this idea in his own way:

However understood in theory by the popular and missionary mind, the open door in China was in practice a cloak for imperialist intrigues. Nominally recognizing the territorial and administrative integrity of China, it formed a shield for constant interference in Oriental affairs by successive administrations in Washington and in other Western capitals. From start to finish, the "co-operating Powers," while competing ruthlessly among themselves for favourable positions in China, showed a willingness to unite in keeping China weak. (*America in Midpassage*, p. 441; italics mine).

Side by side with the pursuit of economic interest, we may point out, as the second phase of the realism of the open door policy, pursuance of *Realpolitik* based on the old doctrine of balance of power — in spite of America's advocacy of ideals of international co-operation and world peace. The United States united, in support of the open door policy, with Japan and Great Britain to oppose Russia and Germany in the early years of the present century. Her approach since the last World War to Great Britain, and still more recently to Russia, as a

move to coalesce against Japan, has been very conspicuous. As a matter of fact, the very existence and development of the open door policy itself owes more than anything to this balance of power in world politics. Unless and until the United States will have gone through very serious self-examination and vigorous reconsideration, the equal opportunity objective, as it is, can not hope to obtain hearty adherence of one half of mankind.

(2) Turning to American advocacy of peace policy and fundamental principles of international relations, objective and unbiased inquiry would seem to lead us to the conclusion that America's position, however plausible though it may appear on the surface, is not by any means infallible. That it is untenable, or at least unconvincing, will be readily seen from the following observations on a few major points.

Respect for international law and order, sanctity of treaties and renunciation of force are undoubtedly all very desirable rules of conduct. But unless they are accompanied by some measures to meet the needs of ever changing realities of the different peoples of the world, these rules cease to be true governing principles among nations. It will indeed be difficult to defend them against the charge that they are mere "sounding brass" or even "a cloak" for selfish desire of the so-called satisfied nations. Equal right of the people everywhere in the world to live and develop, claiming their legitimate needs to be met, has got to be recognized. But what actually lasted, now fully for a generation, was the renunciation of change itself. The American principle of non-recognition which can be traced back to 1915 amounted, in reality, to nothing more than an attitude to ignore the need for change arising from the existing actualities of the situation.

It is true that, immediately after the outbreak of the Manchurian incident, the problem of "the peaceful change" was earnestly discussed by world's forward-looking leaders for a brief period of time. It was then that some of the Japanese advocates of the same idea pleaded earnestly for its most serious

consideration on the part of Anglo-American leaders.³ But nothing concrete has resulted. It is a well-known fact also, that the Article 19 of the League Covenant which provided for the function of the Assembly to advise the members concerning "the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world," has never been effectively applied. In other words, "orderly processes" for modification of treaty provisions have, in practice, been denied to the nation which were dissatisfied with the existing conditions.

Following their own way of thinking, the American Government and people seem to argue, with regard to the recent Japanese controversies which led up to war, that they had to resort to the methods of economic sanctions, such as moral embargo, freezing of assets and severance of economic relations in order to prevent or checkmate the use by the Japanese of military force. But the American people ought not fail to understand that such "measures short of war" actually represent economic force, controlling even life and death of the peoples against whom they are applied. They are, in fact, by no means "pacific;" on the contrary, they constitute coercion in the full sense of the word. Insofar as the matter of resorting to force is concerned, it is in substance not at all different from the use of military force. Former Under-Secretary Welles recently referred to American high tariff policy, prior to the Trade Agreements system of 1934, as a process of "slow strangulation of international trade" and a chief cause of the world crisis (April 15, 1943, Pan-American Day address).⁴ It would have been only a step further to admit that the American policy toward Japan,

³ For instance, the writer's statistical paper on *Reconstruction of the Peace Machinery in the Pacific*, presented at the Banff I. P. R. Conference in 1933. Also writer's article in the *Pacific Affairs*, November, 1932, in which he pleaded that the present age "should be recorded by posterity as one which deliberately chose peace," and "averted another catastrophe."

⁴ It is interesting to note that, while praising the Pan-American system of non-interference and economic reciprocity as the ideal prototype for the rest of the world, Welles frankly admits that the date of its birth could be traced not further back than 1932.

which adopted ever increasing economic pressure, such as oil embargo during the critical months of negotiations in 1941, was nothing but a policy of economic strangulation. It was a striking pronouncement of this admission on the part of President Roosevelt himself that he stated, in July, 1941, that the United States would have been in war perhaps a year ago, had the supply of oil to Japan been cut off earlier. The encirclement by the ABCD Powers was a very actual, acute pressure against Japan. It was a war by economic force, in spite of America's repeated peaceable pronouncements, and has thus driven Japan to arbitrament of force.

Viewed from another angle, the American policy and war aims are both predicated upon the assumption that Japan has been and is dominated by the militarist, and is consistently prosecuting her programme of world conquest. Now President Roosevelt, better than anybody else, should have known the true intentions of the Japanese Government as expressed in its most sincere and painstaking endeavours of the American-Japanese conversations on which, as at one of those decisive moments of history, the fate of humanity hung in a balance. That the United States Government should have taken steps on November 26, which made the American Chief of Staff of the Army to state in his instructions (as has been clearly shown in the Roberts Report) that "the negotiations with Japan seemed to be ended with little likelihood of their resumption; . . . that hostilities on the part of Japan were momentarily possible;" and which made the Chief of Naval Operations to send a message to the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet stating in substance that "this dispatch is to be considered a war warning," and that "the negotiations with Japan in an effort to stabilize conditions in the Pacific had ended" was a fateful blunder of first magnitude and an irretrievable tragedy in world history.

The circumstances thus forced Japan to resort to arms for the protection of its very existence and self-defence, there being no other recourse left. It was indeed "unavoidable," and was

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far from the true wishes of the nation. When fire has once been exchanged, however, the American responsible leaders seem to feel no hesitation whatever in branding Japan as a "greedy" and brutal aggressor nation bent on territorial aggrandizement. President Roosevelt, for instance, said:

Pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan had first worked her way in, to and finally seized Manchuria. Next she had invaded China. . . . The Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, came next on the Japanese time table; and it is probable that further down on the Japanese page are the names of Australia, New Zealand and all the other islands of the Pacific, including Hawaii and the great chain of the Aleutian Islands. (December 15, 1941, message)

The total mobilization is based upon this assumption; in fact, this is the fountain-head of all the policies of President Roosevelt. With all due regard to the necessity of propaganda in modern warfare, one cannot help shuddering to think of the grave responsibility of statesmen in plunging the whole nation into a great and terrific war of attrition. Such unwarranted condemnation, *plus* the demand for "unconditional surrender" has certainly served to make the Japanese people rise up to a man in defence of their nation convinced of the essential rectitude of its cause.

(3) The idea of national interest, expressed in terms of individual security and high standard of living, is gaining weight in America's consideration of war aims. But one cannot wonder whether this is not based on the pre-conceived idea of *Pax Britannica* and *Americana* pressed upon mankind in the post-war world. Is it not after all America's international policy originating from the same old economic nationalism? For the past half a century the Americans have shown a great concern over the matter of maintaining their standard of living. It had a direct bearing on their policies of immigration restriction. The Immigration Law of 1924 was an instance of such narrow nationalistic policy; and its Japanese exclusion clause has been indicative of the extent to which such policy could work damage in international relations. The United States has been intent upon maintaining the general welfare and security of her

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own people, even at the risk of breaking international agreement,⁵ or of ignoring possible repercussions likely to be disastrous among other peoples. Such attitude, however, cannot help but entail serious disturbances in the community of nations. Full employment proposition as a war aim will have to go through a complete reconsideration with thorough revitalization of its international aspect, if it were to survive.

V

Japan and the United States are thus fighting this war, each for its own cause, both determined to fight it out to complete victory. Reduced to the bare simple truth, Japan is fighting for her existence and legitimate national aspirations for development, while the United States is fighting in defence of "democratic principles" and her own way of life. The Japanese think that the United States has blocked the way of their rightful growth by her unlimited economic powers; while the United States thinks or professes to think that the Japanese use of armed force has endangered her very existence and the peace of the world. Each nation is absolutely convinced of the justness of her own cause; and blames the other for resorting to force, which, as a matter of fact, is economic in one case, and military in the other.

The American people are sometimes led to regard this war as a conflict between two different philosophies—between the philosophy of reason and the philosophy of force. But this in itself is indicative of the peculiar trend to "holier than thee" attitude of the American mentality, for America herself is not by any means exempt from the use of force, as has already been shown. In fact, economic powers can be deadliest of weapons in dealings among nations, as well as among individuals.

Let me here consider for a moment the effect of economic growth of the American nation upon the character and true

⁵ When the American Congress adopted the anti-Japanese measure in 1924, there was not a single voice raised in protest, so far as I know, on the ground of its violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, or of the sanctity of international obligation.

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well-being of her people. Looking back to the early years of the present century, a distinguished statesman said (former President W. H. Taft, in 1915):

For thirty years we had [had] an enormous material expansion in this country, in which we all forgot ourselves in the enthusiasm of expanding our material resources and in making ourselves the richest nation on earth . . . and we were in danger of plutocracy.

And a well-known historian writes similarly (H. U. Faulkner):

To many thoughtful men in the opening years of the twentieth century it seemed that America in making her fortune was in peril of losing her soul.

If this was the situation then, how much more should the danger have been in the great era of prosperity of 1920's, when industrial growth, corporate wealth and standard of living reached the highest level in human record? The characterization of the American people of the early nineteenth century was once aptly made by an able American historian as: "It was Yankee, a new Nordic amalgam on an English Puritan base. . . . A tough but nervous, tenacious but restless race; materially ambitious, yet prone to introspection . . . A race whose typical member is eternally torn between a passion for righteousness and a desire to get on in the world." Since the post-war period of great prosperity and revived nationalism, the desire for abundant life and the trend toward narrow Calvinistic bigotry seem to have become more conspicuous.

For the thoughtful Americans, standard of morality, rather than standard of living, should be a matter of the greatest concern. Former Under-Secretary of State Welles has openly admitted that the United States in her attitude toward the League of Nations was guilty of blind selfishness, but a far more fundamental re-examination of her attitude toward life itself was perhaps the nations's need. Kipling's *Lest We Forget* suggestive in this sense, though not exempt from "chosen people" consciousness. Such serious self-introspection and subsequent spiritual rebirth of the American nation would lay the real foundation, not only of the true welfare of her people,

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but also of the lasting peace of the world. Thus, too, America will dispel from the mind of other peoples the "policeman of the world" conception of the United States, retaining at the same time, the real pristine strength of Puritanism for her people.

In so writing, my intention is not to single out America, as if the brunt of responsibility were to be laid solely upon her shoulders. Rather I am saying this in the spirit that "all the world may be brought under the judgement of God."

Japan, too, has learned much through the severe and chastening disciplines of war. It is now increasingly clear to her leaders that armed force alone is hardly enough to win the war and also the peace. The fundamental principle of her national polity that "all the nations of the earth should be given their places, each its own due" is, therefore, being carried out most earnestly and faithfully. With full realization of her responsibility and sincere hope to live up to what she has set up as her goal, she is eager to prove by her deeds the true nature of her policy. It may be entirely superfluous, but I may add in passing that Japan's war aim is *not* "the ultimate enslavement of the rest of the world." She is fighting for her right to live and for her legitimate aspirations to develop as a nation in close co-operation with other nations and peoples of great East Asia. This is not a war for domination or enslavement, but a war of liberation. The complete revision of the Treaty between the Nanking Government of China and Japan, the attainment of independence by Burma and the Philippines, all of which happened in this memorable year of 1943, are assurances that the new order in East Asia is based on justice and morality.

Needless to say, the conception of greater East Asia envisions a new world order, with full appreciation of the need of common endeavour for its enrichment and elevation on the part of each of the several regions of the world.

THEIR MOSCOW CONFERENCE

By YOSHITARO KUSUYAMA

FROM October 19 to 30 a conference of the Foreign Ministers of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union was held in Moscow to discuss matters of mutual interest relative to the prosecution of hostilities and post-war adjustments. It is stated that at the Moscow Conference a complete agreement of views was reached between Secretary of State Cordell Hull of America, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of Britain and People's Foreign Commissar Viacheslav Molotov of the Soviet Union, who were chief delegates. The agreement reached, it is believed, concerns the issue of opening a second front in Europe, a plan for post-war adjustments in Europe and a programme for launching "peace offensives" against Germany. The general impression is that, as a result of the Moscow Conference, the Soviet Union made Britain and America assent to a number of its aspirations.

Throughout the period of deliberations no less than twelve plenary sessions were held. Premier Stalin and Chuan Ping-chang, Chungking Ambassador to Moscow, were present during the holding of certain conversations. Before the conference got under way, Premier Stalin at the Kremlin, individually met the delegates of Britain and the United State. He first received Foreign Secretary Eden and then Secretary of State Hull. It can be imagined that Premier Stalin saw Foreign Secretary Eden at the outset, because he desired to make previous arrangements with him in respect of the intensification of joint hostilities in Europe on the basis of Britain's European war first principle. In consequence of the Quebec Conference, the United States gave positive effect to its policy of Pacific war first—a policy which was

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not relished either by Britain or by Soviet Russia. Therefore, when Premier Stalin received Secretary of State Hull, he, in view of his previous talks with Foreign Secretary Eden, informed him that the Soviet Union wished that the United States would attach prime importance to the prosecution of hostilities in Europe. It is apparent that at the Moscow Conference both Britain and the Soviet Union stressed the need of paying utmost attention to the European war, and thus they expressed their disapproval of America's policy toward the Pacific war.

Anthony Eden is a prominent exponent of Anglo-Soviet co-operation. He attended the conference as the chief delegate of Britain with the idea of making fresh arrangements for the solidification of Anglo-Soviet co-operation. Hence, it can be said that all Secretary of State Hull's propositions, which had no bearing on Anglo-Soviet co-operation and the European war, were turned down by the delegates of Britain and the Soviet Union. However, the American Secretary of State won a success over his Anglo-Soviet colleagues when the conference, in acceptance of his proposal, invited Chungking Ambassador Chuan Ping-chang to attend its deliberations. In this way, the Three-Power Moscow Conference developed into a four-Power parley. The participation of the Chungking Ambassador added a slight Pacific colour to the conference; but this colour in effect was unimportant, for the conference mainly transacted matters pertaining to Europe.

After the termination of the pourparlers, a *communiqué* was issued on November 10. It contained a seven-point statement by Britain, the United States, Soviet Russia and Chungking, and a four-point announcement by Britain, the United States and Soviet Russia. The first was in the nature of a four-Power joint declaration and the second a three-Power joint declaration. There is nothing new or striking in the four-Power declaration, it being a rehash of the already known views of the parties concerned. If there is anything worth noting, it is in its negative phase, which discloses the Soviet intention of refraining from being involved in Japanese questions. The preamble of

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this declaration in part says: "Each Power is resolved to continue its hostile acts against each of the Axis Powers with which it is in hostilities, until its opponent lays down its weapons and surrenders unconditionally." The preamble is worded in such a manner that it is not binding on the Soviet Union so far as its relations with Japan are concerned. The Moscow correspondent of the British paper *Exchange Telegraph* in a dispatch stated: "No alteration has been made at the Anglo-American-Soviet Conference on the existing status of Soviet-Japanese relations." The statement can be interpreted to aver that Soviet Russia steered clear off the Pacific war issue at the Moscow Conference in deference to the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact.

The three-Power declaration is more concrete in form than the four-Power one, which deals with abstract principles. The first point of the three-Power declaration informs that "a resolution has been adopted by the conference regarding the operations to be undertaken against Germany and its European allies, and that preparations for the projected operations are going on." From the information, it is understood that the Moscow Conference reached a decision to organize a second front in Europe. Well-informed quarters are of the opinion that the point in question was adopted to comply with the forceful demand made by Foreign Commissar Molotov in connection with the opening of a second European front by Britain and the United States in order to help the Red Army in its fight on the eastern front. They are inclined to believe that Foreign Commissar Molotov demanded the earliest formation of a second front, firstly, to shorten the duration of war with Germany, and secondly, to distribute equally the war burden among Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Since Britain and the United States had earlier expressed their intention of organizing a second front, they, at the Moscow Conference, had to give in to the forceful demand of Foreign Commissar Molotov.

Now that the Anglo-American nations, by virtue of the first point of the three-Power declaration, have once again

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committed themselves to launch offensives against Germany in Europe, it can be assumed that they are making preparations to go into action. So far, however, they have not made any move which can be construed as a relief to the Red Army. The Soviet forces are still continuing their wide-front engagements unsupported by an Anglo-American thrust toward German-controlled Europe. The Italian campaign has not been recognized by the leaders of the Kremlin as directly helpful to the operations of the Red Army. On the other hand, London and Washington are hinting that their aerial operations against Germany and German-controlled Europe are proving beneficial to the operations of the Soviet forces. They are also pointing out that the war materials hitherto supplied by them to Soviet Russia have enabled the Red Army to replenish its offensive power. It can be conjectured that these arguments were put forward by Britain and the United States at the Moscow Conference. Foreign Commissar Molotov, in replying to them, must have quoted facts to show that the war materials supplied by Britain and the United States were not enough to meet the high-power requirements of the Red Army, that the Soviet forces had been conducting their operations on the eastern front primarily by relying on the domestic armament outputs, and that the Anglo-American air bombardments on Germany and German-controlled Europe were not affecting the war situation on the Soviet front. Because the second front issue has been made the first point of the three-Power declaration, it is apparent that the Soviet Union has compelled Britain and the United States to take the earliest possible initiative in opening hostilities against Germany.

That the formation of a second front is indispensable has been acknowledged by the two "democratic" partners of Soviet Russia. Even the United States, which is pursuing a Pacific war first policy, advocates that, for the purpose of ending the European war, direct offensives against Germany must be carried out. The question is how a second front is going to be organized. It is presumed that the Moscow Conference fully

discussed this phase of the question. The Soviet Union seems to favour an Anglo-American move toward western Europe, especially toward the northern coast of France. Foreign Commissar Molotov must have reiterated this wish of the Soviet Union. The Kremlin is inclined to the view that if an attack on the northern coast of France, which is nearest to Germany proper, is made, the duration of the European war could be definitely shortened. But it must be mentioned that, in case an offensive is launched against northern France, Britain and the United States would not have sufficient reserves to conduct a simultaneous campaign in the Balkans, against which territories the Soviet Union would be able to carry out military operations provided the conditions alter there. Therefore, it is to the interest of Soviet Russia that Britain and the United States would attempt to reinstitute hostilities in western Europe.

It is not known what strategic moves would be made by the Anglo-American nations to engage in frontal operations with Germany. The first point of the three-power joint declaration is so vague that it does not even convey the impression that a second European front would be opened soon. As against this, it must be observed that the point in question would not have been incorporated in the declaration unless the Soviet Union was perfectly assured that Britain and the United States are preparing to launch hostilities against Germany. In consideration of this point, it can be assumed that the Moscow Conference framed a strategic plan in regard to the reinitiation of hostilities in Europe. As the Kremlin generally favours an offensive against western Europe for the dual purpose of relieving the Reich pressure on the eastern front and creating conditions in the Balkans advantageous to it, it would not be wholly imagination to think that if and when a second front materializes, it would be in the direction of western Europe.

The three-Power discussion at the Moscow Conference was partly military and partly political. Its military part related to the question of organizing a second front in Europe and reinforcing the military collaboration among Britain, the United

States and the Soviet Union to prosecute the European war in a more vigorous manner. The political part concerned a plan for post-war adjustments in Europe. It may be recalled that, prior to the holding of the Moscow Conference, newspapers in Soviet Russia published comments and articles touching on post-bellum Soviet boundaries and territorial expectations. They indicated that, in regard to the Soviet sphere of influence, the Soviet Union should be allowed a free hand to deal with it, particularly when it was not trying to impose itself on the shaping of the spheres of influence of other allied Powers. The most outspoken of such views were expressed by the *War and the Working Class*, which often acts as the mouthpiece of the Soviet Foreign Office. It stated that discussions were going on in Britain and the United States concerning the post-war boundaries of the Soviet Union and queried: "What would be the repercussions in those countries were the Soviet Union to discuss the American-Canadian boundary or the nationality problem of the state of California?" On account of these press campaigns, when the Moscow Conference met in formal sessions, Foreign Secretary Eden and Secretary of State Hull had to recast their previous policies in reference to post-war adjustments in Europe.

What actually transpired at the Moscow Conference regarding the issue of post-war adjustments cannot be guessed. Notwithstanding that, this much can be said that the Soviet Union demanded the Anglo-American recognition of its right to shape its own sphere of influence in eastern Europe. From the morass of conflicting opinions that have filtered through what can be salvaged as dependable information is that the Soviet Union desires to have a sphere of its own by extending its control to the northern part of Finland and the three Baltic States, simultaneously urging the recognition of the Soviet-Polish frontier as existing prior to the outbreak of the Reich-Soviet war. As regards the Balkan nations, it wishes that the post-war Governments there would reciprocate friendly feeling and sympathy toward Soviet Russia. In face of these Soviet post-

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war expectations, it would be substantially appropriate to picture that at the Moscow Conference Foreign Commissar Molotov, by recognizing the spheres of influence of Britain and the United States, made Foreign Secretary Eden and Secretary of State Hull concur to a number of important Soviet demands regarding post-war adjustments in eastern Europe. Moreover, as the Soviet Union has opened relations with the French Committee of National Liberation and has secured representation on the Mediterranean Committee, it is obvious that it has acquired political influence in the conduct of such European affairs as are directly under the control of Britain and the United States. On top of this, as a result of the Moscow Conference, a permanent Anglo-American-Soviet Committee has been established in London to co-ordinate the supervision of European affairs under their joint control. Therefore, it is explicit that the Soviet Union has been more politically benefitted by the Moscow Conference than its two "democratic" partners.

It is reported that at the Moscow Conference a programme was chalked out to launch "peace offensives" against Germany. The leaders of the German Government have frequently made it clear that it is not at all possible to create diversions in the home rank of the Third Reich. Because the Anglo-American peace offensive has borne fruit in Italy, Britain, America and Soviet Russia have come to believe that a similar diversionist tactics could be tried against Germany. The swift establishment of the new Fascist Government in northern Italy has frustrated the Anglo-American attempt to alienate the whole of Italy from the Axis camp. If their plan has attained only partial success in Italy, how can a similar peace offensive be effectively launched against Germany, where the people are solidly united and are determined to fight to the last for creating a new order in Europe? It is presumable that the programme for peace offensives against Germany, as drafted at the Moscow Conference, includes, *inter alia*, the intensification of propaganda war, disruption of Germany's diplomatic relations with neutral countries and creation of anti-German incidents in the Balkans.

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The German Government, being well aware of these underground offensives of London, Washington and Moscow, has taken appropriate steps to foil them.

A careful scrutiny of the two declarations released through the *communiqué* issued at the close of the Moscow Conference reveals that no decisive agreement was reached as to how the war against Germany would be conducted and post-war European adjustments made. The value of the four-Power declaration was mostly concentrated in giving a retouched outline of the already known objectives; whereas the three-Power declaration elicited the information that military operations against Germany would be carried out, and that post-war European adjustments would be handled as the conditions ripen. The announcement that Austria would be made an independent nation was in the nature of a "trial peace offensive." It has already proved inflated, because there does not exist any change of heart between the Austrians and Germans. On the whole, the Moscow Conference has served to increase the influence of the Soviet Union on Britain and the United States, for the Kremlin has not only made London and Washington accept its views in regard to the opening of a second front, but also in respect of the conduct of European affairs. If it is said that Britain had its way during the Casablanca Conference and America during the Quebec Conference, it must be admitted that the Soviet Union scored over them at the Moscow Conference.

NEW SINO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE PACT

By *ITSUKI OHNISHI*

THE reorientation of the relations between Japan and China, which started after the outbreak of the China affair in July, 1937, has been gaining momentum since the issuance of the first and second Konoye statements. When the new Nanking Government was inaugurated, a basic treaty was concluded between the two nations, in pursuance of which Japan's China policy was revamped further, ultimately resulting in the signing of a Sino-Japanese alliance pact on October 30 last. The recent mutual alliance agreement has invalidated the earlier Basic Treaty. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the first and second Konoye statements issued respectively on November 3, 1938, and December 22 of the same year, enunciated a three-point policy to be followed toward China, namely good-neighbourly friendship, joint defence and economic co-operation on the basis of non-territorial cession and non-reparation. With a view to embodying these points in treaty form, a basic treaty was concluded between General Abé, Japan's special envoy, and Wang Ching-wei on November 30, 1940, simultaneously with the formation of the Nanking Government.

The Basic Treaty, which has been superseded by the new Pact of Alliance between Japan and China, contained five salient stipulations. The first was that both nations should respect each other's sovereignty and territory; the second concerned joint defence for the protection of mutual integrity and suppression of Communist activities; the third recognized Japan's right to station troops in China; the fourth specified close economic co-operation, particularly for the joint development of China; and the fifth acknowledged that, in parallel with the gradual

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reorientation of the relations between Japan and China, the former would renounce its extra-territorial rights in China and retrocede its exclusive concessions to the Nanking Government, in return for which China would undertake to open its territory for the residence and trade of Japanese nationals. Annexed to the treaty there were five terms of understanding, which stipulated that various tax-levying organs in China should be adjusted as soon as possible, that factories and mines controlled by the Japanese armed forces should be returned to the Nanking Government at an early date, that appraisal of investment and ratio of investment in the Sino-Japanese joint enterprises should be rectified appropriately, that China's foreign trade should regain autonomy following the settlement of the China affair, and that transportation and communication services should be adjusted speedily. But the commencement of hostilities in greater East Asia on December 8, 1941, and Nanking's subsequent declaration of war on Britain and the United States necessitated the revitalization of the Sino-Japanese relations in the light of new developments in East Asia, and as a result, the Pact of Alliance came to be concluded to put the Sino-Japanese understanding and collaboration on a firmer foundation.

On January 9, 1943, the Nanking Government entered into a state of war with Britain and America. Immediately, a joint declaration was issued by Tokyo and Nanking pledging mutual co-operation in prosecuting the common war to a successful conclusion. The Japanese Government in a separate statement announced that this country, with the expectation of an epochal development in the Sino-Japanese relations in conformity with the fundamental spirit of co-operation between the two countries and with the desire for the speedy construction of a new China based upon its independence and strengthening of the political power of the Nanking Government, had decided to carry out not only the rendition of all exclusive Japanese concessions in the Republic of China, the recognition of the restoration to China of the International Settlement in Shanghai, the International Settlement in Amoy and the Legation Quarters

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in Peking, as well as the relinquishment of extra-territorial rights, but also to take full favourable measures in various fields, thereby assisting most vigorously and effectively in the construction of a new China. It added: "In accordance with the development of the new relations between the two countries hereafter, Japan will also in the same spirit pay renewed consideration to the various existing agreements."

The Japanese Government has since faithfully acted upon its statement. All exclusive Japanese concessions in China were returned to the Nanking Government by last summer; whereas factories and mines in China controlled by the Japanese armed forces, as well as various items of enemy property seized have been transferred to it. As regards the relinquishment of extra-territorial rights, the Japanese Government made a start with the retrocession of the right of taxation, which has been already effected. The Nanking Government, having secured the surrender of concessional and extra-territorial rights from Japan and friendly Powers, has at one stroke eliminated the unequal treaties, with which China has been burdened for a long time. Alarmed at Japan's new policy toward the continent, America and Britain concluded new agreements with General Chiang Kai-shek, renouncing their extra-territorial rights in China and retroceding their exclusive concessions and international settlements to the Chungking régime. Inasmuch as most of the Anglo-American interests in China are concentrated in areas not under the control of Chungking, their action proved unimportant from the practical point of view. General Chiang Kai-shek in his book, *The Destiny of China*, says that the abolition of unequal treaties were entirely due to Chungking's strenuous efforts and also to the goodwill of America and Britain. That this opinion is not only wishful, but inflated is clear from the actual contribution made by Japan.

The Japanese Government in its statement of January 9, 1943, intimated its preparedness to revise the Basic Treaty, especially when it declared that it would "pay renewed consideration to the various existing agreements." Premier General

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Hidéki Tohjo at the eighty-second session of the Diet took occasion to reaffirm the Japanese Government's preparedness in this direction. At the same time, the Japanese Government, in order to extend every possible aid to Nanking in the construction of a new China on the basis of autonomy and independence, began envisaging a new treaty which would replace the Basic Treaty and regulate the relations between the two countries in an endurable manner under the three principles of mutual amity, safeguarding of stability and reciprocity, and equality. The subsequent negotiations with Nanking led to a complete agreement of views between Japan and China on the subject. The draft Pact of Alliance between Japan and China, the protocol annexed thereto and the notes exchanged between the two countries, which had resulted from those negotiations, were referred to the Privy Council, which at its plenary session on October 23 approved them. Consequently, the Pact of Alliance was signed between Masayuki Tani, Japanese Ambassador, and Wang Ching-wei, President of the Executive Yuan of the Nanking Government, at Nanking on October 30. Simultaneously, the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty, which was signed on November 30, 1940, lapsed, after being in force for two years and eleven months.

A press note released by the Japanese Government clarified that the Alliance Pact denoted the good intention of this country to stabilize East Asiatic harmony without remotely infringing on the sovereign rights of China. It added that the Japanese Government had previously announced in its statement of January 9 of this year its convictions regarding Japan's policy toward China to meet the new situation following the outbreak of war in greater East Asia. Since that time, Japan had steadily translated into action what was publicly declared in that statement and thereby extended its utmost aid toward the speedy establishment of a new China on the basis of self-asserting independence and manifestation of the political power of the Nanking Government; and the latter also, in concert with Japan, had taken measures to reinforce and strengthen its co-

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operation for the prosecution of the war, resulting in the smooth and satisfactory development of the new relations between the two countries. It continued that now that the influence of the United States and Britain had been completely liquidated and the Nanking Government was waging war with them, Japan and China "have come to deem it appropriate to adjust their treaty relations to conform to the new situation in order that they may, untrammelled by all past circumstances, revert to their normal and proper status as good neighbours and accomplish their common mission of stabilizing greater East Asia and promoting its renaissance and prosperity. This, indeed, is the reason why the new pact has been concluded."

The statement sheds an illuminating light on the unselfish motive of the Japanese Government in regulating its treaty relations with China by contracting a mutual alliance. The Pact of Alliance itself is concise and lucid, regulating as it does the treaty relations between Japan and China in a fair and equitable way. In the protocol annexed to it, Japan not only undertakes to withdraw its forces dispatched to the territories of China when general peace between the two countries is restored and the state of war has ceased to exist, but also renounces the right of stationing troops it possesses in accordance with the Peking protocols and supplementary documents relating to the Boxer War. Further, in the notes exchanged between the two countries, Japan undertakes that of the matters of *fait accompli* existing in China at present, even during the continuation of the state of war, the required adjustments are to be carried out in accordance with the contents of the present pact successively as far as permitted by circumstances through consultation between the two countries.

The Pact of Alliance between Japan and China aims at regulating the relations between the two countries during and after the war. In its essential make-up, it is like an "East-Asiatic Magna Charta" designed to facilitate the construction of a greater East Asia. Put in another form, the Japanese Government and the Nanking Government have concluded the Pact

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of Alliance prompted by the mutual desire to construct a greater East Asia on the basis of morality and respect for each other's independence and thereby contribute to world peace. The Sino-Japanese relations have undoubtedly reached an epochal constructive level with the signing of the new alliance agreement, which is the natural outcome of Japan's new policy toward China determined upon early this year. The political aspect of the construction of a greater East Asia is witnessing a spectacular evolution, as demonstrated by independence proclaimed by Burma on August 1, recovery of lost territory by Thailand on August 20, incorporation of the Shan, Karenni and Wa states into Burma on September 25 and attainment of independence by the Philippines on October 14. Besides, semi-autonomy has been granted to the Indonesians in the form of their participation in the local administration. On top of this, at the Assembly of the Greater East Asiatic Nations held in Tokyo on November 5 and 6, Japan, China, Manchoukuo, Thailand, Burma and the Philippines adopted a historic declaration to strive for the creation of a greater East Asia and thus contribute to the maintenance of world peace. The Pact of Alliance and these new developments indicate how the task of constructing a greater East Asia is being accomplished.

The Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty concluded in the midst of the China affair contained a number of special riders and reservations, for it was thought necessary to have such special stipulations to restrict the inimical activities of the United States and Britain. But when the war in greater East Asia broke out and Japan swiftly expelled the Anglo-American control over that region, the necessity of having such special riders and reservations disappeared. Japan there and then decided to put into operation a reformed China policy, which was executed concurrently with Nanking's entry into the war on the side of this country and its securing of the relinquishment of concessional and extra-territorial rights. Following this, negotiations were conducted to scrap the Basic Treaty and conclude a mutual alliance agreement in its stead chiefly to pave the way

for the durable harmonization of reciprocal relations. Dr. Chu Min-yi, Foreign Minister of the Nanking Government, paid a glowing tribute to Japan for the conclusion of the Alliance Pact in his recent radio address. He said: "Emphasis must be laid on the two salient features of the present Pact of Alliance between Japan and China. The first is that the pact has been concluded before the restoration of a general peace between Japan and China; and the second is that the contents of the pact have dispelled all our misgivings. It must be stressed that the moralistic spirit of the Japanese Government and people is fully manifested in the Alliance Pact."

The pact provides for the adjustment of those matters which are to be handled after a general peace has been effected between Japan and China. This certainly illustrates Japan's fair and equitable attitude toward China in unmistakable terms. Furthermore, all detailed provisions enumerated in the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty together with those respecting joint defence against Communism, have been done away with by virtue of the alliance agreement, probably in the confident hope that when a general peace has been effected between the two countries, China will not only be able to defend itself against Communism, but also will be able to suppress the Chinese Communists. On the other hand, Japan's full respect for its neighbour's autonomy and independence has prompted it to specify the withdrawal of all its armed forces from China on the return of peace. It is for terminating the China affair and restoring the proper status of each of the nations of greater East Asia that the war in this part of the Orient is raging. The Pact of Alliance has been concluded for the principal purpose of settling the China affair by bolstering the administrative, political and economic powers of the Nanking Government and implementing a constructive step to gear up the successful prosecution of hostilities against Britain and America. It is, indeed, unfortunate that Chungking, as a linchpin of the Anglo-American nations, is keeping aloof to the new realities that have emerged for making greater East Asia a worthy contributive sphere of inter-

national tranquillity.

The Sino-Japanese Pact of Alliance has automatically rendered void the *raison d'être* of Chungking's objective of continuing its so-called "war of resistance," because it unequivocally discloses that Japan is not entertaining any imperialistic ambition toward its continental neighbour. All that it wishes is to live in amity and harmony with China and protect the mutual integrity. General Chiang Kai-shek in his *The Destiny of China* claims that Chungking in collaboration with the United States and Britain is endeavouring to restore the full sovereignty of China, and refrains from observing that Nanking in co-operation with Tokyo has already made China regain its full sovereign status. How much General Chiang Kai-shek may catechize, the fact remains that the new Sino-Japanese Alliance Pact is a concrete evidence that Japan is selflessly extending all possible aids to China to help it rebuild its house in the manner it likes as a friendly neighbour of this country and also as a potential unit of greater East Asia.

GLEANINGS OF ANSEI ERA

By THOMAS BATY

I Japan before the Kaikoku

DURING the past few weeks, the writer has had occasion to investigate a quantity of books published in the early days of Japanese intercourse with the West, after the "opening" of the country in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the course of that work not a few opinions and observations came to light which may prove to be of some interest at the present time. Among the leading volumes consulted were *The Capital of the Tycoon* (otherwise, *Three Years in Japan*) by the first regular British Minister, Sir Rutherford Alcock; *Townsend Harris in Japan* and *Verbeck of Japan* (Griffis); *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (Bird); *Japan* (Sir E. Reed); and *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan* (Mrs. Hugh Fraser).

Alcock and Harris were at one in questioning whether the *kai-koku* (open door) was for the real good of Japan. President Fillmore was pushed into the adventure by Perry, who had made a name for himself by vigorous naval operations against slavers on the west coast of Africa, and was burning for further distinction. Fillmore strictly charged him to avoid the use of force: but the parade of force was still open to Perry, and he studiously refrained from revealing Fillmore's restrictions. Had the Japanese insisted on proceeding to Washington to argue out with Fillmore personally the attractive thesis of the right of an independent nation not to be coerced into entering into undesired communications, it is hardly doubtful that such an appeal to American sentiments of national independence would have been placed upon a negotiated, and not a dictated, footing.

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And Harris's great step of securing a commercial treaty in 1858 would have been likely to produce a less one-sided instrument than was actually the case. However, Perry and Stirling opened the door, and Harris and Alcock were left to make the best of the situation.

But both these two diplomatists were dubious. The wisdom of the authorities who despatched them was questionable to them.

Harris writes in his *Journal* on the occasion of the hoisting of his consular colours at Shimoda: "Undoubted beginning of the end. Query,—if for the real good of Japan?"¹ Alcock writes in his first volume² that he thought Kaempfer not so far wrong in declaring that Japan "was never in a happier condition than . . . shut up and kept free from all commerce and communication with foreign countries." He was even ready, while still *en poste*, to publish his opinion that it might perhaps be better to recede from the attempt to force British trade on Japan—but for considerations of prestige, which forbade withdrawal from a task once undertaken.³

Both united in admiration of Japan as it was. Alcock observes that Japan was in its feudal stage. "Yet what do we see? Peace, plenty, apparent content, and a country more perfectly and carefully cultivated and kept, with more ornamental timber everywhere, than can be matched even in England . . . It is impossible to pass any sweeping condemnation either on [the population] or the institutions under which they live, where such results are possible."⁴ "It is impossible to traverse these well-cultivated valleys, and mark the happy, contented, and well-to-do-looking population which have their home among so much plenty—and believe we see a land entirely tyrant-ridden, and impoverished by exactions. On the contrary, the impression is irresistably borne in upon the mind,

¹ *Townsend Harris in Japan* (Griffis), p. 58

² *The Capital of the Tycoon* I, p. 450

³ *The Capital of the Tycoon* II, p. 372

⁴ *Ibid.* I

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that Europe cannot show a happier or better-fed peasantry, or a climate and soil so genial and bountiful in their gifts."⁵

So also Townsend Harris: "The number of people seen increases. They are all fat, well-clad, and happy looking, but there is an equal absence of any appearance of wealth or of poverty—a state of things that may perhaps constitute the real happiness of a people; I sometimes doubt whether the opening of Japan to foreign influences will promote the general happiness of this people. It is more like the golden age of simplicity and honesty than I have ever seen in any other country. Security for person and property, universal frugality and contentment, seem to be the apparent condition of Japan at present."⁶

This is the country which Mr. Griffis elsewhere exhibits⁷ as one in whose hermit system "barbarism, cruelty, intolerance, ignorance, sensualism and all things detestable ran riot."

Nor did the difference between Japanese political institutions and those of England trouble Alcock: nor was he in the least desirous of impressing the Japanese with English political ideas:

Seeing there are no representative institutions, no free press, no freedom of any kind—in the forms inseparably associated in an Englishman's mind with liberty—it may be necessary to guard against a bias, and a leaning to *a priori* conclusions, adverse alike to the Government in its absolute and despotic character, and the people governed. There is perhaps no more certain truth than that which is conveyed in the axiom that laws and actions must have a certain adaptation to the existing character of the people to be governed; and that we must judge of any code by estimating the amount of good or evil that has been found to result. If the average, for the time being, of good will bear comparison with that observable in other countries, and in other stages of civilization, although a different code or form of government and institutions may exist; our right to condemn the latter must, to say the least, be very questionable, however they may depart from our own standard of ethics and good government.⁸

Again:

⁵ *The Capital of the Tycoon* I, p. 432

⁶ *Townsend Harris in Japan* (Griffis), p. 198

⁷ *Verbeck of Japan* (Griffis), p. 15

⁸ *The Capital of the Tycoon* I, p. 439

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In estimating the true worth of Japanese institutions, it is well to remember what are the actual products of our own boasted progress in all the different departments of human activity and social or political life, determining not only the moral worth, but the destinies of individuals and nations alike. Much is said and written about the obligation of the Western States to spread the blessings of true religion, a knowledge of the Gospel, and all the advantages of an advanced civilization to Oriental races, whom we regard as in a state of comparative barbarism. But, if we would see the true bearing of all such claptrap phrases and popular harangues, we must bring something of a philosophic and truth-loving mind to the task and examine in what the civilizations of Europe and Asia agree, as well as in what they differ. And, if we find that, as regards the fruit of both, in good and evil, there is a far nearer approach to identity than our pride would willingly admit, and that mere variations in form have been mistaken for general differences in substance and principle, it may perhaps tend to moderate the rage for thrusting upon them, by a coarse machinery of propagandism, all kinds of panaceas drawn from European sources for the evils that beset Eastern despotism and Oriental institutions—forgetful that the latter have the immense advantage over any we could give, of being indigenous to the race and the countries, and assimilated by long growth and mutual adaptation. If, moreover, we find that they do actually attain all the principal ends of our own social and political institutions, to an extent which no modern graft from a foreign soil could possibly effect, were the most perfect success to attend the operation, we may well pause in our empiric efforts to force ourselves and our specifics upon them against their will.⁹

It is interesting to compare with Alcock's reference to "feudalism," Ruskin's contemporaneous assertion that: "There might be more freedom in England, though her feudal lords' lightest words were worth men's lives, and though the blood of the vexed husbandman dropped in the furrows of the fields, than there is while the animation of her multitudes is sent like fuel to feed the factory smoke and the strength of them is given daily to be wasted into the fineness of a web." Thus these early observers corroborate Dr. Uyéhara, when he writes: "Although we had under the old régime no civil code or law defining civil rights and liberties, yet the people enjoyed their rights and liberties, and were well protected even by social custom and by that sense of justice inborn in the in-

⁹ *The Capital of the Tycoon* II, p. 263

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dividual . . . [Now] our civil rights and liberties are, in practice, often narrowed instead of being widened."¹⁰

And Mr. Walter G. Dickson, returning in the eighties, after twenty years' absence to Japan, avers (*Gleanings from Japan*, p. 15) that such a former resident may recall "that the people seemed formerly to be contented and happy, each in his own place, actuated by the desire to do his best in his own department of life, in a good house easily erected to cover him, and with enough to feed him; and with everything so cheap that he could stay at home or he could travel about to see the beauties of his native land at nearly an equal expense. But [now] instead of that there is a spirit of getting rich, of discontent, feeling of struggling with his fellows in Japan as in all the world; that may be good in the end—but the end how far off?"

We may compare with this the arresting avowal of the Dutch missionary Verbeck: "I love America, and I think God has great things in store for it; but if I were to choose a home for happiness in this life, an exchange of true affectionate feelings, I should not choose it in America." He preferred to look back with delight on his youth in Holland, with—"those dear people who knew nothing of that exterior show, with interior hollowness and coldness, so common in America."

II *Black Sheep among the Early Foreigners*

Not only did Harris and Alcock admire Japan, but both they and Verbeck, the pioneer missionary, had much uncomplimentary comment to make on their own countrymen in that region.

Sir R. Alcock¹² complains of the "rowdy" and "disreputable element" which universally finds entrance "with treaties and commerce in Japan." "The absence," he proceeds, "of any system of efficient control over all foreigners alike, whatever

¹⁰ Uyéhara, *Polit. Development of Japan*, p. 186

¹¹ Verbeck of Japan (Griffis)

¹² *The Capital of the Tycoon* II, p. 365

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their nationality, if bringing Europeans generally into disrepute by disorderly or dishonest conduct, is an ever-fruitful source of mischief. Such specimens of our civilization there always are—ill-conditioned and unscrupulous adventurers claiming the benefits to be secured by the maintenance of treaties, while they violate all the provisions . . . To stipulate for a right of admission into a country like Japan, where the sovereign has been stripped of his territorial jurisdiction by a clause of ex-territoriality, and then leave him exposed to the outrages and disorders which lawless Europeans may at their pleasure commit, without giving him ample security against such license and gross abuse of treaty rights, can only be regarded by the Japanese in one of two lights. Either as an indication of indifference . . . to whatever evil or humiliation we may bring upon them, provided we attain our own ends, or as an admission of incompetence to deal with an evil which I have no hesitation in saying is serious and discreditable. Were it the only spectacle daily given at the open ports, of drunken sailors rolling about and often (*sic*) committing actual violence, as such men will do when they are drunk, we should have much to regret. And this is not the least of our difficulties, for the sailors of men-of-war of the different nations, I am sorry to say, are no exception, and furnish their full contingent . . . A very solemn obligation has been accepted by every Treaty Power claiming for its subjects the privilege of ex-territoriality—to provide, *at whatever cost or trouble*,¹³ adequate means for performing the duty thus assumed of preserving the peace, repressing all lawless violence and illegalities, and rigorously punishing the offenders. How lamentably and persistently this has been disregarded in many instances in the Chinese and Japanese seas by Western Powers is, unfortunately, too notorious to require further evidence . . . The right of exemption from the law of Japan is alone a reality; the other condition of the ex-territoriality clause, *viz.*, adequate provision for the preservation of the peace and the repression

¹³ Italics mine

of crime, is too much a fiction."

Nor was the Rt. Rev. Dr. George Smith's impression more favourable. "Kanagawa was represented to me by persons generally well-informed on local manners as a deplorable scene of demoralization and profligate life."

Early books of travel show us the unceremonious way in which even foreigners of decent standing behaved. Mr. J. R. Black¹⁴ records a clandestine sporting expedition to Boshu, in the course of which the benighted sportsmen forced their way into a private house, demanding board and lodging. Mr. E. G. Holtham tells us that no prohibitions stood in the way of his exploits when shooting in pursuit of game.¹⁵ What was worse, a foreign ship with cholera on board insisted on disregarding all quarantine restrictions, because she was not subject to Japanese law!¹⁶ Worst of all, perhaps, was the contemptuous attitude of superiority which foreigners adopted . . . Bishop G. Smith¹⁷ found that—"Europeans in every part of the world too often . . . demean themselves with the air of a superior and conquering race even in countries where they are strangers barely tolerated by the governing powers—Individual foreigners of unblemished private life sometimes act in the presence of the native as if a different code of social morals and relative bearing prevailed in their estimate of right and wrong." As an instance, he points to the frequency of furious driving. (I myself, in our enlightened era, have known diplomats who boasted of motoring from Nikko to Tokyo in two hours). And he concludes that: "We must unlearn much of our East India pride of conquest and arrogant assumption of superiority." Another instance observed by Dr. Smith was the boast of an American

¹⁴ *Young Japan*, I

¹⁵ *Eight Years in Japan*

¹⁶ Case of the *Hesperia*. Read's *Japan* I, xxxvii. Sir E. Reed there cites a note of Mr. Everts (when Secretary of State) in which the U.S. Minister (Bingham) is quoted as saying that the number of deaths in Japan would have been much less if the Government had been aided, instead of resisted, by certain foreign Powers in their efforts to check contagion.

¹⁷ *Ten Weeks in Japan*

that he had knocked off the basket-hat of a *yamabushi* and sent it rolling down the gutter. "Treatment," says Sir E. Reed, "against which the smallest South American State would rebel, has been thought proper in the case of Japan."¹⁸ "In courteous demeanor, in cleanliness, in education, the ordinary Japanese peasant far excels the artizan of the Black Country, the tenant of the Irish shanty, or the Russian . . . but I fear that all this is unknown or systematically ignored by us. Stories are in everyone's mouth of champagne glasses dashed to the ground by an eminent Minister with the rudest comparisons between their fragility and that of Japan."¹⁹

Mrs. Hugh Fraser makes this not so difficult to believe: "Some of our colleague's wives affect an almost brutal rudeness towards [*the Japanese ladies*], speaking of them in their presence with sublime contempt and complaining loudly of an official visit which perhaps has broken up a more amusing conversation. When, horror-struck, I have expostulated, the reply has been: "Bah, elles n'y comprennent rien." "I was paying," she says, "a visit at one of the Legations, when a Japanese great lady, Princess S., was announced, and immediately followed the servant who announced her . . . As she entered the room, our hostess threw her arms in the air with an affectation of despair, and exclaimed (I had better not say in what language). "Good Heavens, what am I to do with this creature! What an odious bore! Could anything be more tiresome?" All this was said at the top of her voice, with gestures which must have made the meaning only too clear to the dignified woman who was thus outrageously received. I did what very little could be done to save the situation; and Princess S., like the true lady she is, pretended not to understand it, for the few minutes during which she remained. "I fled" concludes Mrs. Fraser, "when she said what I fancy will be a long good-bye to our hostess, and for the first time in my life I blushed for

¹⁸ *Japan* I, p. 34

¹⁹ *Japan* I, xxxviii

being a European."²⁰ "I met this ornament of diplomacy coming away as I was advancing along the Palace corridor on Thursday and did not get past her without having to hear some noisy criticisms on the manners of the women she had just left; who, by the way, have loaded her with kindness."

Nor had Dr. Verbeck much opinion of the pioneer foreigners here. "You have no idea how the name of Christ is disgraced by most (*sic*) foreigners in Japan—and it would almost pay just to hire good Christian families and to make them live in various parts of the country to exemplify and adorn the doctrine. This too would put a stop to much of the open wickedness and immorality now prevalent among foreign residents of all nationalities and ranks."²¹ This was as late as 1868. Again he says (p. 173) that although he personally is more looked up to and respected than any other American in Japan, yet: "If you know how immorally all (*sic*) foreigners, Americans (alas!) not excepted, live here, you would not think this much of a boast." And (p. 209): "In fact, very few indeed, outside of ministers and missionaries, that have not fallen."

Verbeck also gives us the inner history of the two young teachers, Ring and Dallas, who were attacked in 1871 by three *samurai*, and who are given a blameless character in Black's *Young Japan* (II, 323). Black does not mention (and probably could not, in 1881) that the pair were in company with a Japanese girl whose character was not so good; nor that Verbeck had forbidden them to have such persons in their official houses—but for which unnecessary prohibition, they said, the accident would not have happened! If they had lived a decent life, says Verbeck,²² they would have been safe enough that night. They were, as Black says, "unattended and unarmed," but, according to Verbeck, that was because they were "on an errand that they wished the guards not to know of." It is with no desire to

²⁰ *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan*, Vol. I, Chapter X, (p. 215, London edn., 1899)

²¹ Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 152

²² *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 249

blacken the memory of the men that I quote Verbeck, but to show that what, appears a wanton anti-foreign murderous whim, may well have some specific motive behind it.

III *The Toll of Life*

In fact, when we hear of the "numerous" murders of foreigners which attended the opening of the country, we are apt to forget that the wonder is there were so few. The standard *Dictionary of National Biography* airily remarks in its article²³ on Sir Rutherford Alcock that during his time—"several foreigners were assassinated in the streets of Tokyo" and that "not content with this," the irresponsible elements attacked the British Legation. In reality, the number of foreigners assassinated in the streets of Tokyo prior to the attack on the Legation was one—the amiable and accomplished Heusken. A Chinaman, three Russians from the fleet and two Dutch skippers (probably mistaken for Russians) had been murdered in 1859 and 1860, but in Kanagawa and Yokohama: and probably (except in the case of the Chinese) it was in wild retaliation for the violent Russian onslaught on Tsushima, where the invaders shot a Japanese officer without a vestige of legal right. Subsequently, how many cases do we find? (1) That of Mr. Richardson (September, 1862) as to which the true facts are still unknown—yet it may be remarked that if the attitude of Richardson was blameless²⁴ it is excessively strange that this is the only instance in which a blameless and unprovocative foreigner was attacked by a *daimyo* procession: (2) the two marine sentries killed by a fanatic at the British Legation in June, 1862: (3) the French Lieutenant Camus at Hodogaya, October, 1863: (4) Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird at Kamakura in 1864: (5) two British seamen at Nagasaki (1868): (6) the extraordinary case in 1868 (July) of a fracas at Sakai between French sailors and responsible Japanese officials, which seem to have arisen out of

²³ By "R. K. D."—probably R. K. Douglas

²⁴ See the balanced statements in Black's *Young Japan*

a misunderstanding.²⁵ Not counting this last case, which cannot be called assassination, the total of foreign lives sacrificed from first to last, was fifteen : six of which cases occurred in the first year or two after the opening of Yokohama, and must probably be ascribed to the Russian cause of offence. We might reasonably have anticipated a far greater toll of life, especially when we consider the rough and provocative manners of many of the intruders. And Bishop Smith bears witness that at the worst moment, there was no general uneasiness among the foreign population at Yokohama.

IV *In re Harris ; Griffis v. Alcock*

Mr. Griffis contradicts²⁶ Sir Rutherford Alcock's observation that Harris carried his Treaty of 1858 through "the influence he obtained—at a time when the Tycoon and Council in Yedo were agitated and alarmed by our second China war in 1857, as well as the subsequent opportune arrival of Lord Elgin with a British squadron at Yedo in 1858." Alcock's suggestion is²⁷ that Harris played on the anxieties and *amour propre* of Japan, by pointing to the British successes in China, and assuring the Japanese that if they did not conclude a reasonable treaty with himself, they would be faced with an arrogant and victorious England and France, flushed with their exploits on the continent. Mr. Griffis thinks it is a sufficient answer to this to say that the Yedo government had already given their written promise to "execute" (*i. e.* to formally conclude) the treaty, as early as February 17 (1858). Harris's journal shows no such written promise, and on July 23, 1858, he was still urging on the Japanese authorities the importance of having the treaty signed. So Mr. Griffis's contention that Mr. Harris's success was attained before news of the Chinese *débâcle* reached Japan, is a perfectly hollow one. And Mr. Griffis himself says (p. 314) that in the course of his negotiation Mr. Harris "had

²⁵ See an article *ad hoc* in the *Japan Magazine* of some years ago

²⁶ *Townsend Harris in Japan*, p. 318

²⁷ *The Capital of the Tycoon* I, p. 210 seq.

not failed to hint at contemporaneous events in India and China." This is not to detract from, but rather to enhance, the credit due to the diplomatic ability and acumen shown by Harris. It was not until December 12, 1857, (*ibid.* 237) that he broached the matter of a commercial Treaty—and his own journal avows that he advocated its acceptance by the argument that "by negotiating with me, the honour of Japan would be saved," as he was backed by no victorious and arrogant fleet.

It is obvious that Alcock was right in inferring that Harris was relying throughout on the actions of the British and French fleets in China, and it is difficult to imagine how Mr. Griffis could expect his readers to think otherwise.

V *Mr. Townsend Harris*

Mr. Harris was extremely critical of his own authorities, and his sentiments are hardly what we should hail as those of a hundred per cent. American. "I know my dear countrymen too well to expect any praise for what I have done, and I shall esteem myself lucky if I am not removed from office."²⁸ Commodore Armstrong is blamed by him for having found forces to spare for assistance to the British and other trivial jobs, while failing to keep his promise to be with Harris again in six months. He found that "the President was strongly inclined to reward my services in making a commercial treaty with Siam by removing me from my office of Consul-General at Japan" (on account of a certain premature disclosure for which Harris was not responsible). "The President appeared to think the best mode of proceeding would be to punish me first and then call on me for my defence."²⁹ "In truth, I was most shamefully neglected by the navy in the East."³⁰ (Alcock is similarly critical of the way in which British commanders steamed away and left him).

²⁸ *Townsend Harris in Japan*, p. 160

²⁹ *Townsend Harris in Japan*, p. 177

³⁰ *Townsend Harris in Japan*, p. 246

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Mr. Harris was not always consistent. He says that he told the Japanese Commissioners that "between nations verbal assurances were of no value,"³¹ and then we find him virtuously indignant when he is told (with reference to the articles of a treaty) by a Japanese that "there is a great difference between speaking and writing." (p. 49) "In other words, they are always at liberty to deny anything they have said promised, so long as it is not in writing," he complains. But that is what he had taught them was the rule in international affairs! Nor is his biographer consistent. Harris casually remarks³² that the Japanese "are the greatest liars on earth;" on which Mr. Griffis comments that the diarist only meant the Japanese *authorities*—and never included the Japanese people "under such a sweeping generalization." And then the same Mr. Griffis tells us (p. 115) that "lying and licentiousness are still the national sins."

Harris's clear-sighted mother was accustomed to warn him against democracy: "You do not look far enough into the future," she would tell him; "you may live to see the day when you will regret the franchise given to ignorant emigrants." Finally, it is odd to note that the further moral instruction which he received from this grandmother was comprised under three heads—to tell the truth, to fear God, *and to hate the British!*

³¹ Townsend Harris in Japan, p. 271

³² Townsend Harris in Japan, p. 105

PRIME MINISTER BA MAW OF BURMA

By AMAR LAHIRI

THE political proscenium of Burma is now presenting a colourful panorama, colourful because behind it the stage rehearsal for the enactment of a new drama of political harmony is going on in full swing. The "Land of Mien" died when the hordes of Kubla Khan sent the Pagan Dynasty to oblivion: and "Bama" passed into nothingness when the rifle-bearers of Colonel Saladin occupied Mandalay without firing a single shot. Today, over the scorching flame of war, Dobama (Burma for Burmans) is rising; and the neophytes are busy instilling perpendicular nationalism into the minds of the carefree, smiling sons and daughters of the soil. But Armageddon is an exacting taskmaster. Its eyes are still focused on Burma, for it takes delight in riding on the chariot of possession. The Argonautæ of the country, who have abruptly recovered the "golden fleece," have yet to protect its safe-keeping by hazard-ing a decisive armed onslaught under the leadership of a modern Jason.

When August 1, 1943, was torn off the calendar, Burma commenced its new "liberty era," waving joyfully side by side the national "Mawriya" (Peacock) Ensign and the Sun Flag. The Union Jack no longer adorns the mast-head of the Secretariate Building in Rangoon. London does not talk any more through His Majesty's Governor. Burma is talking for itself, maintaining a "sombbrero" combination with Tokyo. The future of the country is being decided at Hermitage Road, where is located the residence of Dr. Ba Maw, who is proud to become a "free Prime Minister" to carry on with his rôle of

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Adipadi (Head of State). Anoratha, Alaung Sithu, Tabin Shwethi, Bayin Naung, Alung Paya and Maha Bandoola of the days of Burmese kingship, have all become the dusts of destiny; but the energy they left inculcated in the soul of the "Land of Golden Pagodas" has now exploded in an attractive pyrotechnic display of regional living and corporate existence.

Yuan China was opened to Western intercourse by Marco Polo, whose adventurous life in the "Yellow Kingdom" is still a source of inspiration to many an empire-builder. The gate of Burma, too, was opened by a Venetian merchant for European settlement. He was Nicolo de Conti, who by analogy can be called "the little Marco Polo of the Occident." In March, 1942, the "freedom-givers" of Japan dynamited the steel-gate of *Pax Britannica* in Burma and initiated a new cycle of intercourse between *Pax Japonica* and Dobama. When the civil administration in the country was inaugurated with the approval of the Japanese military administration, Dr. Ba Maw was made its chief. And again when on August 1, 1943, Burma "proclaimed its independence" with the concurrent dissolution of the Japanese military administration, Dr. Ba Maw, who enjoys the confidence of the leaders of the Kudan Hills of Tokyo, formed the first "liberty administration" of the country in modern times. When he was incarcerated by Britain some time after the ensuance of the current European war, the polite Sam Browne told him: "You are a *mauvais sujet*." And when he escaped from jail during the onrush of the Japanese forces into Burma and contacted the "freedom-givers" of the "Warrior Land," the courteous Brass-buttons of Japan informed him: "We have come to liberate Burma. Please take charge of the administration for common security and advantage."

The political life of Dr. Ba Maw is associated with the last nationalist struggle of Burma as a unit of the British Empire. He joined the *wunthannu* (nationalist) movement at the most critical period of internal partisan spirit. He swung to action not with the cry of independence on his lips, but with the advocacy of Indo-Burmese solidarity in his breast-chamber. He

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said that the independence of Burma could only be assured by tying its destiny to that of India. So he opposed the separation of Burma from India, and in turn earned the disfavour of the separationists of the nation. Later on, when Burma became a separate unit of the British Empire, he devoted himself to the task of energizing the national spirit on a "realistic scale." At heart, he is India-minded. His India-consciousness derives its sustenance from his conception of Indo-Burmese solidarity as perceived during the days of separation and anti-separation turbulence.

Born in 1893 at Maubin in the Delta district, Dr. Ba Maw passed the entrance examination from the St. Paul's School in Rangoon and then graduated from the Rangoon College. After that, he sailed for England to continue his studies at the Cambridge University. While he received the degree of Doctor of Literature from the Bordeaux University in France, he also "took the silk" from a British Inn and became a bar-at-law. On his return home, he started his professional career as a practising barrister, but found very little opportunity to make a name. He remained comparatively unknown until the outbreak of the Tharawaddy Rebellion in 1930. Throughout the 1930-31 rebellion period, he defended many of the prisoners who were brought before the court for trial. This move not only made him known among the higher-ups of the country, but also among the masses. Being a barrister, he fore saw that, by defending the rebellion prisoners, he would be able to bring himself to the spotlight of national notice. However, it would be incorrect to state that he was wholly swayed by professional instinct in taking up the cause of the recalcitrants. To some extent, he was propelled by nationalist fervour to seek justice for the unfortunate brother-Burmans. His activity as a defence lawyer for the insurrectionists facilitated his meteoric rise as a public man, with the result that, during the separation and anti-separation controversy which followed, he became one of the prominent leaders of the country.

Dr. Ba Maw in defending the rebellion prisoners always

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pressed home one argument. He held that these people had risen up in arms not because they were entertaining any aggressive political motive, but because the acute economic hardship had driven them to resort to a perilous uprising to secure a redressing of their grievances. Hence, he submitted that the cause of the rebellion was primarily economic and not necessarily political—a view which was also boldly expressed by U Saw, who subsequently became the last Burmese Premier under Britain-controlled Burma. The British Burma administration of those days in an official document claimed that the rebellion was directed toward the overthrow of the existing political system. This claim was questioned in a debate by many nationalist members of the then Legislative Council. They persisted that the insurrection was substantially economic in nature. Because Dr. Ba Maw, in defending the intransigentists before the court, steadfastly adhered to economic adversity as the chief cause of the rebellion, he naturally came to be looked upon as a rising nationalist of the day.

Although the rebellion episode has become an exanimate matter, it will not be irrelevant to describe the conditions that precipitated it. In consequence of the world-wide economic depression, Burma was hit so badly that almost one-fourth of the total arable land passed into alien hands. Furthermore, the prices of rice registered the lowest level, increasing the miserable plight of the agrarian populace. At the beginning of 1930, when a semi-famine condition was prevailing in the rural areas, Indian labour was freshly indentured in Rangoon for longshore work. The Burmese workers of the city, who were then undergoing an economic ordeal, resented the importation of Indian labour, culminating in the outbreak of a short-lived Indo-Burmese labour riot. In the neighbouring districts, when the news of the unfortunate incident became known, certain unruly agrarian elements, after protracted discussions, came to the conclusion that it would be worthwhile to resort to violence against the British Raj as a means to liquidate their embittered economic position and acquire administrative power. At that

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time, Sir Joseph Maung Gyi, the leader of the moderate political group in the country, was the Acting Governor. No sooner the Insein-Tharawaddy area was turned into the main operational zone by the insurrectionists than Sir Charles Innes, cancelling his furlough, hurried from London to resume the post of the Governor. Finally, the rebellion was quelled and its leader, Saya San, captured and executed. A large number of prisoners were sent to the Andamans to serve life sentences, while many others were given long-term imprisonment. The way the crowd used to cheer the rebellion prisoners brought before the Insein Law Courts for trial gave the impression that the uprising was not primarily economic in character. Moreover, when Saya San was being tried, the Burmese urban masses expressed so strong sympathy for him that it became apparent that they regarded him as a revolutionary fighter. The impartial opinion is that the Tharawaddy Rebellion was partly economic and partly political in manifestation. In 1937, when Dr. Ba Maw was serving as the first Premier under the separated Constitution, he, with the consent of the British Government, secured the gradual release of all rebellion prisoners.

One of the effects of the rebellion was the sudden upsurge of a strong nationalist feeling in the country. The Burmese nationalist sections in private vehemently criticized the manner in which the recalcitrants had been dealt with, for they recognized them as patriotic freedom-seekers who made an unsuccessful attempt to recover administrative sovereignty from the British Raj. Following the termination of the rebellion, the Dobama Asiayone (Burma for Burmans League) was organized by young radicals to strive for the creation of a socialistic economic set-up, as well as the propagation of a national emancipation movement with the support of urban workers and rural masses. There is no doubt that the Dobama Asiayone came into being as a direct repercussion of the rebellion. At this juncture, the separation and anti-separation controversy loomed large in the political horizon of Burma. U Chit Hliang, then the most popular Burmese leader and now

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a Privy Councillor, led a nation-wide campaign in favour of Burma's non-separation from India. Dr. Ba Maw, whose eloquence as a platform speaker was acknowledged; was approached by interested anti-separationist quarters. He immediately bade adieu to his brief-case and sponsored an anti-separation agitation independently of U Chit Hliang.

On the whole, the separation movement was rather strong, for it had the support and the backing of the majority of prominent nationalists, who accepted the leadership of U Ba Pe. When Burma went to the poll on separation and anti-separation tickets, the election returns showed a majority in favour of non-separation in the total votes cast. A special debate was held in the Legislative Council to decide the controversial political issue one way or the other. The resolution, which was tabled recommending Burma's separation from India, was not moved. In its stead a motion indicating independence as the goal of Burma was adopted. During the debate, both U Chit Hliang and Dr. Ba Maw pointed out that from the election results it was clear that Burma was opposed to separation from India. U Ba Pe, in contending the point, quoted facts to show that the election returns did not reflect the popular will of the entire nation, for the number of votes cast in an electoral district represented only a limited percentage of the actual population there. He further mentioned that in some electoral districts the voters only numbered five to ten per cent. of the total inhabitants. Therefore, he averred that on population basis Burma was in favour of separation from India. It is said that U Ba Pe, the seasoned politician of Burma, is now living a quiet life in a secluded place on account of family misfortunes he has suffered of late.

The separation and anti-separation tussle accelerated the stride of national politics. While the Ba Maw and Chit Hliang adherents wanted Burma to remain within India and thereby work for national emancipation in collaboration with the latter, the Ba Pe party advocated the outright severance of connection with India to promote the independence movement separately.

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During the Round Table Conferences held in London, U Chit Hliang and U Ba Pe pressed their respective viewpoints on constitutional reforms in Burma. Dr. Ba Maw then had not acquired sufficient following to have a weighty say in the conduct of Burmese politics. He rose into prominence afterwards. At the session of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms for Burma convened in London, Dr. Ba Maw, U Chit Hliang and U Ba Pe individually submitted their political opinions in respect of Burma's separation from India. When Dr. Ba Maw returned to Rangoon after attending the session of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1934, he immediately addressed a meeting at his party headquarters and explained that he had done his best to press the anti-separationist cause, and that it now remained for Britain to decide what policy it would pursue.

On his return home, Dr. Ba Maw began to organize a political party of his own to increase his popularity as a nationalist. In the same year, he assumed the portfolio of Education under the then diarchical Constitution, but later, in consequence of the passing of a no-confidence motion in the Legislative Council, he had to go out of office. In 1935, when the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was released recommending Burma's separation from India and the granting of an autonomous Parliamentary Constitution, the anti-separationists, including Dr. Ba Maw, expressed their dissatisfaction at the British non-recognition of their viewpoints. On the other hand, the separationists, including U Ba Pe, though welcomed the separation of Burma, scathingly criticized the framework that had been proposed for the functioning of the Parliamentary Government. April 1, 1937, was fixed as the day for Burma's formal separation from India, and it was announced that a general election would be held in 1936 under the new Constitution.

The attention of all the political denominations in the country became riveted on the forthcoming general election. Dr. Ba Maw informed the press that his party would contest the

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election with the object of wrecking the Constitution through the Legislature. The Chit Hliang party and the Ba Pe group, which by then had been organized into the United Party, decided to participate in the election on the same ground. Dr. Ba Maw reconstituted his political plank into the Sinyetha (Proletarian) Party. While thus the major political factions were getting ready to contest the election, the Dobama Asiayone announced its policy of obstructing the operation of the new Constitution from within and without. Consequently, it, too, proposed to put up candidates for election. The general election over, it was seen that the United Party scored the greatest number of seats followed by the Chit Hliang party; whereas the Sinyetha Party of Dr. Ba Maw came last. The strength of the Dobama Asiayone was negligible. The only bright feature for it was that it managed to send Thakin Mya to the Lower House. Thakin Mya is now the Deputy Prime Minister of Burma. The present political organization in the country is a coalition between the Dobama Asiayone and the Sinyetha Party.

The parliamentary political system that was granted under the new Constitution had security clauses for the safeguarding of the interests of the minority communities. That is why adequate representations on the Burmese Parliament were given to the British and Indian communities, as well as to the indigenous minority sections. The results of the general election disclosed that not one of the Burmese parties could secure majority to form the Government. Only a coalition Cabinet was possible. Since the United Party was the strongest Burmese group, the then Governor Sir Archibald Cochrane informed its leader, U Ba Pe, to organize a Ministry. Unfortunately, the lure of office caused a split in the United Party, and U Ba Pe intimated to the Governor his inability to form a Cabinet. U Ba Pe's failure gave Dr. Ba Maw an opportunity to try his luck. He approached U Chit Hliang for co-operation and, obtaining the support of the Indian *bloc* and some Karen and Arakanese members, managed to put up a working majority. In this way, he came to form the first Parliamentary Government under the

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new Constitution in 1937.

When Dr. Ba Maw's Government was established, the United Party and some independents and Karen and Arakanese members organized the parliamentary opposition. Dr. Ba Maw became the Chief Minister and U Paw Tun, the deputy leader of the Chit Hliang party, Home Minister. Moreover, U Chit Hliang was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. Politically, Dr. Ba Maw's acceptance of office contradicted his earlier principle of wrecking the Constitution through the Legislature, because by taking oath he became duty bound to work the Constitution faithfully. As against this, U Chit Hliang's acceptance of the post of the Speaker of the House of Representatives gave him a slight advantage to say that he was not directly connected with the working of the Constitution like Dr. Ba Maw. It is undoubtedly significant that the first Burmese Parliamentary Government was formed by the erstwhile anti-separationists, being assured of the support of the Indian members.

The separation and anti-separation controversy developed in Burma, aside from domestic causes, on account of the manipulations of interested local British and Indian circles. The resident Indian merchant community, which had no political backing of Indian nationalists, supported the anti-separation movement and aided U Chit Hliang and Dr. Ba Maw in their campaigns. As regards the British community, the mainbody of it favoured separation and sympathized with the separationists. The Indian merchant community thought that under a separated Burma the exercise of its acquired rights and privileges would be restricted. The British community, however, welcomed separation, because, by alienating Burma from India, it hoped to entrench firmly its own economic system. According to reliable information, it is understood that Governor Sir Charles Innes personally recommended to the British Government the separation of Burma in order to isolate that country from the nationalist movement in India. A number of spokesmen of the Indian National Congress in press statements said

that, although the issue of Burma's separation was a matter to be decided entirely by the Burmese people, it was obvious that Britain was going to make that country an autonomous unit of the British Empire "to exploit it more thoroughly." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an interview with newspapers declared that India had no desire to intervene in Burmese affairs, but added that Britain had definitely decided to separate Burma from India to make that country "a durable pawn of British imperialism."

Dr. Ba Maw as Chief Minister of the Coalition Government announced that he would endeavour his best to improve the land and fiscal conditions of the country. Accordingly, he appointed land and fiscal committees to determine the policies to be followed thereanent. Until July, 1938, his Government functioned smoothly and executed a number of commendable measures. Its most noteworthy achievement was the securing of the gradual abolition of the Capitation and Thathameda (Village Income) Taxes. In the same year, Dr. Ba Maw went to London to attend the Imperial Conference, at which he made a brief speech as an equal to the Dominion Prime Ministers. While in London, he obtained the consent of the British Government for changing the designation of Chief Minister into Premier. He also succeeded in getting the approval of the Whitehall to the procedure that the Premier should ordinarily preside over the meetings of the Council of Ministers without infringing on the Constitutional rights of the Governor as stipulated in the Government of Burma Act, 1935. At the Empire Garden Party given by King George VI, Dr. Ba Maw planted a tree symbolizing Burma's new career as an autonomous unit of the British Empire. Now that the wheel of fate has turned in another direction, he as Adipadi has ordered the construction of a Burma Shrine to commemorate the Burmese-Japanese unanimity.

In July, 1938, as a result of a fracas near the Soortee Burra Bazar in Rangoon, an Indo-Burmese riot broke out and it swiftly spread to upper and lower Burma. The riot dragged on

for about four months entailing heavy casualties on both sides. The Burmese masses made only the Indian Moslems their targets of attacks and refrained from molesting the Hindus. The riot naturally roused the indignation of the Indian *bloc* in the House of Representatives, and Dr. Ba Maw had to denounce the sudden outburst of racial bitterness in the country. As Dr. Ba Maw for fear of losing the support of the Indian *bloc* at times spoke vehemently against the Burmese miscreants, his popularity among the indigenous masses and the opposition Burmese members in the House of Representatives waned markedly. On top of this, a series of nation-wide demonstrations were held to overthrow his administration. While the oil-field workers staged a "hunger march" to Rangoon, the university and college students in the capital went on strike. Consequently, the opposition Burmese members utilized every political opportunity to hasten the downfall of the Coalition Government. Earlier, a no-confidence motion against the Ba Maw Ministry moved in the House of Representatives was lost, because the British and Indian members voted in favour of the sitting administration. After that, as a result of a clash between striking students and policemen in front of the Secretariate Building in Rangoon, the power of the Ba Maw administration became extremely feeble. Noting the rising surge of anti-Ba Maw sentiment in the country, the Indian members considered the advisability of withdrawing their support. In February, 1939, when another no-confidence motion against the Ba Maw Cabinet was moved at the budget session of the House of Representatives, the Indian *bloc* decided to adopt the procedure of free voting, while the British group marched into the "Aye" lobby—and Dr. Ba Maw's career as a Premier came to an end.

After the fall of the Ba Maw Cabinet, U Pu, a veteran politician who was Forest Minister in the outgoing Ministry, formed the Government by effecting a "national coalition" with the Chit Hliang party, the Myochit (Patriotic) Party of U Saw and certain influential Karen, Arakanese and Indian members. Before the new Cabinet could marshal sufficient force

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the European war broke out in September, 1939. The commencement of hostilities in Europe provided Dr. Ba Maw with a political opportunity to carry on an agitation demanding Britain's statutory declaration on Burma's independence as condition for its co-operation in the prosecution of war. When Dr. Ba Maw was unseated, he found it imperative to revert to his original nationalist fervour in order to point out to the masses that he still remained the energetic advocate of Burma's freedom. With a view to regaining his popularity, he made common cause with the Dobama Asiayone and the seceders of the United Party. Conferences were held between the leaders of the Dobama Asiayone, Dr. Ba Maw and Dr. Thein Maung, the last-named representing the United Party seceders, to devise ways and means for the formation of a new political organization. Eventually, an agreement was reached between the conferees to form a Burma Freedom Bloc without having any leader, but an executive board consisting of the heads of the three political factions. The Burma Freedom Bloc was inaugurated toward the close of 1939 and Dr. Ba Maw, Dr. Thein Maung, now the first Burmese Ambassador to Japan, and Thakin Mya were elected to the board. At a mass meeting held in Rangoon on June 9, 1940, under the auspices of the Burma Freedom Bloc, Dr. Ba Maw in the course of a speech said :

In struggling for freedom if no arms are at hand jails shall be used as arms. In this war the old world will disappear and out of the *débris* will emerge a new world. No small nation can exist without forming alliances with large nations. The Burmans cannot afford to remain in isolation. They must form alliances with the English or the Japanese. Many say that the Burmans have no arms to fight for freedom, and that they should not think of shaking free the English yoke as that will only place them beneath the yoke of either Japan or Germany. As regards arms, look at the world situation. Consider that the arms of the Japanese, the English and the Germans are the arms of the Burmans. If the Burmans make use of their arms, are they not the arms of the Burmans?

By uttering such words while Burma was still a unit of the British Empire, Dr. Ba Maw not only incurred the displeasure of the British authorities, but also indirectly hinted that Burma

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in its freedom fight could count on Japan as a friend and ally. Following this speech, Dr. Ba Maw again at a nationalist gathering referred to Japan as "our friend in the East." Because his subsequent utterances relative to the European war violated the regulations prescribed in the Burma Defence Act, he was taken into custody. On the outbreak of the Pacific war on December 8, 1941, the Japanese forces made a speed drive into Burma and occupied Rangoon in March, 1942. At that time, Dr. Ba Maw was being detained at a penitentiary in northern Burma. On hearing that the British forces were on the retreat, he escaped from the penitentiary and established contacts with the intelligence officers of the incoming Japanese troops. In May, 1942, by which time Mandalay had been reduced, Dr. Ba Maw came to take charge of the political affairs of the nation. A civil administration was organized under the supervision of the Japanese military administration and he was appointed chief civil administrator. Accepting the Japanese declaration of Burmese independence in good faith, the civil administration began to restore peace and order in the country in collaboration with the Japanese armed forces. A few months later, Japan announced that Burma would be made an independent State within 1943. Synchronizing with this announcement, a Burmese Independence Preparation Committee was formed, which hurriedly drafted the "independent Constitution of Burma." Then on August 1, 1943, Burma declared that "it has become an independent nation," and entered into a state of war with Britain and the United States. The new administration of the country selected Dr. Ba Maw as Prime Minister and Adipadi. When he attended the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations held in Tokyo on November 5 and 6, he reaffirmed that Japan and Burma would march forward together to hew out their respective destinies.

At the time the Parliamentary Constitution was put into operation, Dr. Ba Maw shelved his previous political intentions and opened the era of Burma's advance as an autonomous unit of the British Empire. As long as he remained in office,

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he faithfully worked the Constitution, but the moment he was thrown out of office, he resumed his "free" political career as one of the champions of Burmese independence. Today, he has ushered in the "independent era" by accepting the new adjustment as conducive to national interests. His recent speeches delivered at different parts of the country suggest that he feels himself pleased at the part he has played in making Burma a "free nation." He realizes, too, that the "new freedom" cannot be maintained unless the frontiers of Burma are held securely. For that reason, he has linked the "new freedom" of Burma with the regaining of political liberty by India.

Prime Minister Ba Maw has assumed the title of Adipadi. The word "adipadi" is derived from Pali and it literally means overlord. The Burmese Government is translating the expression into English as Head of State. From the academic viewpoint, such an English rendering appears to be far-fetched, particularly when the conditions which brought forth the currency of the title in the past do not exist at present. Ideologically, such a rendering is permissible to denote the apex of the new political arch. Since Adipadi is being referred to as Head of State, it signifies that Burma is developing a reformed politics under the ægis of a Duce or a Führer. Prime Minister Ba Maw says that Burma must have a State politics. This idea can be likened to the Nazi conception of *ein Volk, ein Staat*. In other words, he is proposing to translate into action the political philosophy of *ein ganzer Mensch*. While he is desirous of doing so, he must not neglect to remember what the old Burma said: *Taung-ka-chauk lo-myauk-ka yu, ah-lai-lu ou-nai haung-luang* (Frightened on the south and taken away on the north, the man in the middle is left with an empty stomach).

As a politician, Dr. Ba Maw is occasionally inclined to give vent to play-acting. He tries to influence the masses by tempering his eloquence with heart-touching sentiments. He has a habit of doing something spectacular to make a name for himself in the history. Yet he is a determined man. Once he

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decides to accomplish a task, he would stake his very career for that purpose. His rugged jaw symbolizes his determination. The hard school of experience has taught him many lessons. One of them is that it pays to keep cool and the other is that it is worthwhile to remain calm and plod stolidly when the storm of political criticism makes its force felt. Still he has something of Molière's "George Dandin" in him, for when excited he subconsciously exclaims: *vous l'avez voulu!* The swing of the pendulum is showing a new curve of time. On the success of the internal political drama that is about to be staged depends the future of Dobama.

FREEDOM FIGHT OF FILIPINOS (II)

By MINORU IZAWA

TOWARD the end of 1897, General Auginaldo accompanied by some fifty revolutionaries arrived in Hongkong from Manila on board the *Uranus*. He rented a large house and placed it at the disposal of his compatriots in exile. He deposited the sum of 400,000 pesos received from the Spanish authorities in a bank and, for meeting his living expenses and that of his adherents, decided to use the interest accrued there from, as well as spend the extra funds brought from the Philippines. Those Filipino patriots who lived in his house were given free board, and those who lived outside were each given twelve Hongkong dollars a month. As the monthly allowance proved insufficient for living separately, almost all the Filipinos who had been lodging independently took up quarters in the house of General Auginaldo. After some time, a number of revolutionaries, including Isabelo Artacho and his brother Primitivo, requested General Auginaldo to distribute the compensatory sum of 400,000 pesos among the revolutionaries in exile. Finally, they intimated to their leader that they would file a suit with the Hongkong law courts to attain their end. To frustrate such an attempt of the malcontents, General Auginaldo moved to Singapore with his trusted followers.

While General Auginaldo was staying in Hongkong, the United States became interested in establishing contacts with him. The acute tension in the Spanish-American relations prompted certain high-ranking persons of the United States to seek the aid and co-operation of General Auginaldo as an ally. Captain Wood of the U. S. gunboat *Petrel* twice interviewed the Filipino revolutionary leader respectively on March 16 and April 6, 1898. On both occasions he informed General Auginaldo that the United States was about to be involved in a state of war with Spain, and that when such an involvement occurred America would assist the Filipinos to regain their independence on condition that they would undertake to fight alongside it against Spain in the Philippines. Thus he indicated that if

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General Auginaldo would collaborate with America against Spain, the United States would help the Philippines to become an independent nation. General Auginaldo, on being acquainted with the intention of the United States, asked Captain Wood whether the promise given by him on behalf of his country could be put in black and white. Captain Wood replied that he would transmit the desire of General Auginaldo to Admiral Dewey. Before any definite understanding could be reached, General Auginaldo, faced with the vexed question of distributing the compensatory allowance among all the revolutionaries in exile, left for Singapore.

The arrival of the Filipino revolutionary leader in Singapore enabled interested American quarters to resume the talks left unfinished in Hongkong. Very soon, an Englishman by the name of H. W. Bray, who had stayed in the Philippines for fifteen years as a trader and dealer in agricultural commodities, came to see him. The Englishman told him that Spencer Pratt, American Consul-General in Singapore, wished to have an interview with him, for he had received a message from Admiral Dewey. Whereupon General Auginaldo conversed with the American Consul-General from nine to twelve o'clock on the morning of April 22. At this meeting, the latter told the former that the United States had declared war on Spain the previous day, and urged him to resume his revolutionary war, especially when the peace terms agreed upon at Biak-na-Bato had not been observed by the Spanish authorities. He then pledged to General Auginaldo that the United States would assist the Filipinos to gain independence if they co-operated with the American forces to overthrow the Spanish power in the Philippines, and that if General Auginaldo would undertake to lead a revolutionary army, the United States would extend to him all possible aids. At the close of the conversation, Spencer Pratt said that he would telegraph to Admiral Dewey, who had been invested with full discretionary powers by President McKinley, to obtain definite assurances.

The conversation between Spencer Pratt and General Auginaldo opened the way for the conclusion of an understanding between the Filipino revolutionaries and the American Government. On the following day, the American Consul-General remained closeted with General Auginaldo from ten in the morning to noon. He handed to the latter a telegram purporting to be from Admiral Dewey containing the assurance that the United States would recognize Philippine independence under its protection. The telegram added that there was

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no necessity of making a written promise and requested General Auginaldo to accept the pledge in good faith. On being assured in this manner, General Auginaldo consented to lead another armed revolution and requested Spencer Pratt to ask the United States to supply him with arms and ammunition. On April 26 General Auginaldo sailed aboard the American vessel *Malacca* for Hongkong. On reaching there, he learnt that the American squadron under Admiral Dewey had proceeded to Manila Bay to attack the Spanish fleet. After an interview with American Consul Wildmann, it was arranged that Admiral Dewey would send a warship to Hongkong on May 15 to carry General Auginaldo to Manila. On May 17 the Filipino revolutionary leader sailed for Manila in the U. S. warship *Macrog*. On arriving at Cavite on May 19, General Auginaldo immediately proceeded to interview Admiral Dewey in the American flagship *Olympia*. What transpired at that interview is described as follows by General Auginaldo in his book, *The Truth of the Philippine Revolution*:

Admiral Dewey led me into his cabin. When greetings of the season were over, I asked him whether he had dispatched cables to Spencer Pratt, American Consul-General in Singapore, from time to time. He replied in the affirmative and assured me that the American fleet had come to the Philippines in order to help the Filipino people to regain their liberty. He explained that the United States, being a vast country blessed with abundant resources and wealth, was in no need of colony, and that the United States would recognize Philippine independence, for it had no desire to incorporate the archipelago. He inquired of me whether it would be possible to make the islanders rise up in arms so as to defeat Spain in a decisive way in the Philippines. I replied that such a plan could succeed provided arms and ammunition were supplied to the Filipino revolutionaries beforehand. Admiral Dewey promised that he would instruct Consul Wildmann to dispatch a steamer without delay to transport arms and ammunitions to the revolutionaries.

At the time the aforesaid interview took place, General Auginaldo had in his possession sixty-two rifles and a number of artillery pieces. He was much impressed with the sincerity of Admiral Dewey. On the eve of his departure from Hongkong for Manila, he called a meeting of the Filipinos resident there, at which a resolution was adopted urging all the Filipinos to do their best to overthrow the Spanish power in the country and simultaneously declaring that in case the United States failed to recognize Philippine independence, the Filipino people would have to take appropriate steps against it. In fact, the resolution recommended the waging of war with America were the

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latter to take the place of Spain in controlling the Philippines. It is obvious that General Auginaldo had this resolution passed in order to make it known to the United States that the Filipino people would co-operate with the American forces to defeat the Spanish troops and thereby gain their independence, but would not submit to the imposition of an American rule. He certainly took the only precaution that was possible under the prevailing conditions.

General Auginaldo in his interview with Admiral Dewey informed him the contents of the Hongkong resolution with a view to eliminating the rise of misunderstanding in the future. The latter, in appreciation of the former's frankness and patriotic fervour, reaffirmed that the Americans would fight in company with their Filipino allies to defeat Spain and facilitate the emergence of Philippine independence. Furthermore, Admiral Dewey advised General Auginaldo to design a national flag in anticipation of the attainment of independence by the Philippines. He also mentioned that as soon as the national flag was raised, America would make all foreign vessels entering Manila Bay recognize that ensign. General Jose Alejandrino in his work, *The Path to Sacrifice*, states that in April, 1898, when the severance of diplomatic relations between America and Spain appeared imminent, he through American Consul Wildmann in Hongkong requested for an interview with Admiral Dewey as a representative of the revolutionary party of General Auginaldo, who had already departed for Singapore. The interview was sought to resume the negotiations started by Captain Wood with General Auginaldo. Admiral Dewey immediately consented to receive him and other representative Filipino revolutionaries on board the flagship *Olympia*, which was then lying at anchor in Hongkong. The conversations were conducted in French, with Singal Sub-Lieutenant Brumby of the *Olympia* acting as interpreter.

General Alejandrino in his above-mentioned book records the main trend of the talks and the questions asked and answers given on the occasion of the interview he and other prominent Filipino revolutionaries had with Admiral Dewey. It is stated that the Filipino delegation, recognizing that war was inevitable between the United States and Spain, explained to Admiral Dewey that the Filipino people were anxious to participate in the expected hostilities as the allies of America in order to gain their national independence. If the United States desired the co-operation of the Filipino people in waging war with Spain on the prior understanding that it would recognize Philippine independence, they were prepared to initiate an armed revolution

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in the Philippines provided the required war accessories were supplied by America. Admiral Dweey, after listening to the viewpoints of the Filipino delegation, replied that war was about to break out between the United States and Spain, that the United States desired the cooperation of the Filipino people, that the United States, being the champion of national freedom, would recognize Philippine independence after the disappearance of the Spanish power from the country, and that he would take necessary measures to supply the Filipino revolutionaries with arms and ammunition. On being assured thus, the Filipino delegation felt that America was going to act as the deliverer of the Philippines from alien domination. It may be pointed out that Admiral Dewey, before exchanging opinions with General Auginaldo, had already committed to the Filipino revolutionaries residing in Hongkong that they could rest assured that the United States had no territorial ambition in the Philippines.

On April 21, 1898, the expected Spanish-American War commenced and Admiral Dewey, in compliance with international law, ordered his fleet to move out of Hongkong and anchor outside the territorial water limit. The weather was so bad that Consul Wildmann could not visit the fleet until April 27, when accompanied by General Alejandrino he paid a visit to Admiral Dewey. General Alejandrino took passage in a transport attached to the fleet, which left for Manila the following day. On April 13 it arrived in Subik Bay, and as a result of a war council held aboard the *Olympia*, it was decided to push onto Manila Bay the same night. At first, it was believed that an animated battle would be fought in Manila Bay. The American fleet was composed of four cruisers, three gunboats and two transports, while the Spanish fleet had eleven warships ranging from 3,500 to 500 tons. Besides, it was feared that the entrance to Manila Bay would be heavily mined, and that the American fleet would be bombarded from the fortresses at Cañacao, Caridad and Manila. However, the Spanish side offered no resistance beyond the firing of four shells from the Friday Island fortress. At eleven o'clock on the evening of April 30, the American fleet entered Manila Bay.

Admiral Dewey, after piloting his squadron safely to Manila Bay, got ready to engage in decisive encounters. Before dawn the American fleet bombarded military positions in Manila and immediately the batteries at the Caridad fortress opened fire. Admiral Dewey's warships continuing their bombardment moved ahead in single file and espied the Spanish fleet at anchor. Without losing a moment, the

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invading warships opened fire on the Spanish vessels. Only three or four Spanish warships were under steam and they tried to intercept the invaders, but were forced to retreat in face of heavy fire. In the course of the battle, the Spanish flagship *Maria Cristina* was set ablaze and another warship named *Don Juan de Austria* was fatally hit. The *Castilla* which was at anchor was put out of action. Thus the first round of the battle ended at half past seven in the morning and the American fleet withdrew to Bulacan for a rest. The second round started at eleven o'clock and the naval station of Cavite surrendered. On May 2, before the last round could be fought, the Spanish side hoisted the white flag over Manila at one o'clock and acknowledged the victory of the American fleet. The same afternoon the American warship dismantled the fortress at Cavite and took over the naval arsenal and harbour installations in Manila. Also they cut off the cable line between Manila and Hongkong to prevent communication with outside quarters. The Spanish warship *Cajaon*, not knowing that the Manila harbour had fallen and the Spanish fleet annihilated, steamed into the port only to be captured by the American vessels. General Alejandrino watched the destruction of the Spanish fleet from the transport he was berthed. The battle over, he landed in Manila to stir up the cause of revolution.

By accepting the pledge of Philippine independence given by Admiral Dewey as an invariable commitment on the part of the United States, the Filipino revolutionaries started military operations against the Spanish forces in the country. A revolutionary army was organized and General Auginaldo once again became the leader of the freedom-fighters of the Philippines. On June 9, 1898, Colonel San Mier occupied Mandarion in Manila Province, Major-General Pio Del Pilar took San Pedro, Macati and its neighbourhood and General Noriel seized Parañaque. On June 12 General Pacheco began a large-scale attack upon Laboodas, Tanbobon and Calocan and reduced them without much difficulty, with the consequence that most of Manila Province fell into the hands of the revolutionaries and the city of Manila itself became encircled. The local Spanish troops, being unable to resist the pressure of the Revolutionary Army, endeavoured to hold out in the city of Manila and the small towns of Santa Ana and Bandacan, the two outposts of the city. Meanwhile, the Revolutionary Army made every attempt to replenish its equipment and requested the American side to expedite the dispatch of war supplies.

While the Revolutionary Army was feeling the lack of arms, an

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American expedition landed at Tanbobon in the northern part of Manila Province in July and launched an offensive against the city of Manila on August 12. By this time the revolutionary contingents under the command of Major-General Del Pilar had occupied Santa Ana. Then they advanced further and captured Paco. On the other hand, a column of the forces of General Noriel commanded by Colonel Ciancaries reached Singarong. Simultaneously, a unit of the regiment of Colonel San Mier led by Colonel Taies joined forces with the column of Colonel Ciancaries at Singarong. At this juncture, the American troops started an attack upon San Antonio Abade, but, seeing the Filipino forces making rapid advance, stopped their forward march and hoisted the Red Cross Flag by hauling down the Revolutionary Flag over the positions already occupied by the Filipino forces. Following the lead of the revolutionary forces, the American troops reached Singarong, but were routed by the Spanish defenders. Later on, the forces of Colonel San Mier and General Noriel captured Singarong, and when the army under the command of Colonel San Mier entered the city of Manila after reducing the offensive strength of the Spanish defenders, the American troops, too, marched into the capital.

The fall of Manila changed the attitude of the American troops toward the Filipino revolutionaries. The American command in Manila asked Colonel San Mier to withdraw his forces from the city, and at the same time, opened negotiations with the Spanish authorities for a truce. While the American command was negotiating with the Spanish authorities to terminate the hostilities, the Revolutionary Army practically became the master of many key points. Colonel San Mier occupied Concepcion and took up quarters at Aroserol; whereas the forces of General Noriel entrenched their positions at Ermita, Paco and Santa Ana. On August 13 a regiment of the Revolutionary Army captured the fortress defended by the Spanish Colonel Calvo and another contingent reached San Paloc. It will be observed that so far as the land operations against the Spanish forces were concerned, it was the Revolutionary Army which prosecuted them successfully and defeated the Spanish defenders and not the American troops, who entered the city of Manila by marching on the road of victory opened by the Filipino freedom-fighters. The revolutionaries attained these results by the afternoon of August 12, up to which time the American expeditionary forces had not started offensive operations against the Spanish contingents.

The American forces, noting the successes gained by the revolutionaries, demanded that they should hand over to them the

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exhibition buildings, meteorological observatory, premises of the girls' normal school and Christian monastery situated in the occupied area of Manila Province. The Revolutionary Army rejected the demand, but issued safe conduct for the intercourse between the American troops in Manila and the buildings mentioned. Meanwhile, pandemonium raged in Manila, where the Filipino people demonstrated for the early installation of a national Republic and hailed General Auginaldo as liberator. The American command viewed with disfavour the rising surge of patriotic fervour and declined to admit the revolutionary forces into Manila which, however, swept into the city and, capturing it from the Spaniards, handed it over to the American military authorities. After the reduction of Manila, the relations between the Revolutionary Army and the American expeditionary forces became strained.

While the situation remained thus, Spain had its fleet annihilated by the United States at Santiago in Cuba, and the Spanish reinforcements to the Philippines were intercepted at the Suez Canal. Confronted with such grave difficulties, Spain had no other alternative but to intimate to America its willingness to enter into peace negotiations. In consequence, peace negotiations were opened and in December, 1899, a treaty was signed, under the terms of which Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States. The conclusion of the peace treaty terminated the hostilities between Spain and the United States, and the American expeditionary forces triumphantly marched into Manila without taking any notice of the part played by the Revolutionary Army under the command of General Auginaldo. No sooner the American forces entered Manila than they enforced military administration there. The institution of military administration sounded the death-knell to the revolutionary cause. By virtue of the peace treaty, the United States not only took possession of the Philippines, but also obtained a twenty-million dollar indemnity from Spain.

The annexation of the Philippines by the United States roused the indignation of the Filipino people, for such an act wilfully violated the earlier solemn promise of granting independence to the country in return for its co-operation with the American forces. Sternly opposing America's abrupt change of heart, the revolutionary forces decided to wage an emancipation battle with the United States and, for that purpose, reorganized their ranks into the Philippine Independence Army. As a result, hostilities broke out between the nationalist

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forces and the American troops, culminating in a long-drawn-out guerilla warfare, which lasted until April, 1902, when General Miguel Malabar surrendered together with his men in Casal Island. In November, 1899, the American forces in the Philippines were some 40,000 in number, but they were increased to 70,000 by March, 1901. This testified how bitterly the Filipino revolutionaries fought against the American forces to regain their national independence. The revolutionaries conducted their emancipation battle under extremely trying circumstances. The lack of arms proved a great worry to them, and yet they determined themselves to go on with the war animated by a passionate patriotic courage and valour. They sent Maria Posse, a close friend of the executed patriot José Rizal, to Japan to negotiate the supply of arms and ammunition.

The late Takéshi Inukai, who was then President of the Kaishinto political organization, sympathized with the aspiration of the Philippine Independence Army and exerted his personal influence to procure arms for it. He made Toh-tên Miyasaki and Shu Hirayama obtain a quantity of arms for the Filipino revolutionaries and also enlisted the services of a few retired Japanese military officers as volunteers for the Philippine Independence Army. Thanks to the efforts of these Japanese sympathizers, a consignment of arms was dispatched to the Philippines on board the *Nunobiki Maru*. Among the retired military officers who joined the Philippine Independence Army were Captain Chizuma and Tei Hara. As ill-luck would have it, the *Nunobiki Maru* capsized *en route* to the Philippines in the eastern China Sea due to heavy storm. The loss of this consignment was strongly felt by the revolutionaries. Later on, fresh attempts were made to secure arms for them from Japan, but owing to peculiar diplomatic conditions these attempts remained unrealized. In February, 1901, the American command succeeded in reducing the influence of General Auginaldo, with the result that the morale of the Independence Army became broken, finally leading to the cession of resistance against the United States.

Following the battle of Manila Bay, the American forces enforced military administration in the Philippines. The Washington Government sent a mission to the country headed by Professor Sherman of the Cornell University to investigate into the conditions then prevailing. The mission, on the completion of its labour, submitted a report to the Washington Government. After that, President McKinley dispatched another mission of inquiry under the leadership of William Taft to pave the ground for replacing the military

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administration with civil administration. In July, 1901, a civil administration was installed in the Philippines. In 1907, the American Government convoked the Philippine Legislature in accordance with the relative provision of the fundamental law for the Philippines approved by Congress in 1901. The majority of seats in the legislature were seized by the nationalists who advocated the independence of the nation. Thus the freedom fight of the Filipinos in peace time came into being. However, the Philippine Commission, which took charge of the administration, gave representation to only three indigenous members. In the following year, the number of Filipino members on the commission was increased to four as against five Americans.

It may be pointed out that when the Philippine Independence Army ceased resistance, it did so, because it found it absolutely impossible to go on with the hostilities. The Filipinos accepted the American rule not to submit to it, but to make the best use of it for attaining independence. For this reason, the revolutionaries turned nationalists and, by taking advantage of the laws and regulations of the Philippine administration, started a peaceful, constitutional movement to attain their cherished objective. Because they accelerated their agitation for independence, the American Congress in 1917 adopted the Jones Act declaring to grant independence to the Philippine at a future date. Ten years after, that is in 1926, it seemed as though the American Government would repudiate its 1917 declaration. Colonel Thompson was sent to the Philippines to inquire whether the actual conditions in the country warranted the granting of independence. In a report submitted to Washington, Colonel Thompson expressed the view that the Philippines was not possessed of sufficient financial resources to maintain its independence, that the people lacked a common language, and that the country was necessary for stabilizing American commerce in the Orient. The Filipino nationalists, unhampered by the recommendations of Colonel Thompson, intensified their freedom agitation to such an extent that the American Congress in December, 1932, passed the Hare-Hozer-Cutting Act promising to grant independence to the Philippines after due approval by the President. The terms of the new independence act were not accepted by the Filipino nationalists who at a session of the Philippine Legislature rejected it by fifteen to four votes in the Upper Chamber and by fifty-eight to twenty-two votes in the Lower Chamber.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President of the United

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States in March, 1933, the *tempo* of freedom agitation in the Philippines reached a new height. The United States at that time had not recovered from the adverse effects of the 1929 world-wide economic depression. President Roosevelt, in order to control the mounting unemployment and social unrest, adopted the "new deal" programme and started reorganizing the external commercial dealings of the United States. On account of the internal nebulous situation, the interest of America in the Philippines diminished and the opinion to grant independence to the Philippines at a stipulated date gained in currency. Propelled by the new trend in public opinion, the American Congress came to approve the Tydings-MacDuffie Act in March, 1934, declaring that the Philippines would be made an independent State in 1946. The Philippine Legislature expressed its concurrence to the act on November 1, the same year. On November 15, 1935, the Philippine Legislature adopted a reformed Constitution and, in conformity with its provisions, the Philippine Commonwealth Government was formed with Manuel Quezon as the first President and Frank Murphy as American High Commissioner. The Philippine Commonwealth Government was autonomous so far as the governance of internal matters were concerned; it had no power to exercise control over military and diplomatic affairs, which were within the purview of the Washington Government. In fact, the American High Commissioner remained as the supreme administrative authority in the country.

The inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth spurred the nationalist desire to acquire more reforms as a preliminary to the attainment of national independence. Meanwhile, American's interference in East Asia began to be gradually pronounced. President Roosevelt, primarily to put back the legitimate advancement of Japan, thought it worthwhile to convert the Philippines as the front-line base of the United States in East Asia. Naturally, Washington took steps to curb the sovereign aspirations of the Filipinos so as to keep them under its influence. It resorted to undesirable propaganda against Japan in the Philippines with the object of making the Filipinos believe that this country harboured "imperialist designs" against them. And when the China affair broke out in July, 1937, the propaganda mill of America began turning out fabricated informations for the consumption of the Filipino public. These informations painted Japan as a "hustling aggressor" in East Asia and directly told the Filipino people that Japan was aiming to dominate

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the Philippines at some future date. In 1940, with Washington's unilateral abrogation of the American-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, the relations between the two countries became unnecessarily strained. Then came the new developments in China, which facilitated the undertaking of the task of creating a new order in East Asia. The formation of the new Nanking Government and the establishment of cordial relations between Japan and China were resented to such an extent by the United States that it speeded up its military preparedness in the Philippines on the hypothesis that an armed showdown between it and Japan was bound to eventuate.

The policy of the United States toward the Philippines underwent a drastic change when it decided to utilize that country as a base of military operations against Japan. The interest of the Filipino people was subordinated to give preference to the carrying out of the military programme of the American high command. Simultaneously, financial and war material aids to Chungking were intensified. In the midst of such provoking activities of the United States, Japan remained calm and attempted to reason with Washington. Some time after, a border dispute occurred between Thailand and French Indo-China, and Japan, being anxious to maintain the peace and stability of East Asia, offered its mediation. The offer was accepted and the dispute was settled to the satisfaction of each of the contending parties. As an obvious outcome of the mediation, a protocol was signed between Japan and French Indo-China, each pledging to protect the peace and stability of East Asia by mutual collaboration. By virtue of the protocol, Japanese forces moved into northern French Indo-China to be prepared against a probable Anglo-American military pressure. About this time, the so-called ABCD military encirclement of Japan was being executed at top speed. Retaliating the arrival of Japanese forces in northern French Indo-China, Britain and the United States and the countries allied to them froze the assets of Japan. Not satisfied with this uncalled-for economic war, Britain and the United States began to vitalize their military preparations on a war footing. The Philippines, which was not concerned with America's embitterment with Japan, was hastily turned into a virtual armed camp. Finally, Washington sent its "no" to the last compromise proposal of Japan, and the war in greater East Asia broke out on December 8, 1941, as a matter of inevitability.

The ensuance of the war in greater East Asia compelled Japan to cause the eclipse of the United States from the Philippines. By

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January, 1942, the Japanese expeditionary forces in the Philippines dealt severe blows to the American strength; and, with the occupation of Manila the same month, Lieutenant-General Masaharu Homma; then supreme commander of the Japanese forces in the Philippines, declared that although military administration had been installed to meet the exigencies of war, the Japanese Government intended to grant independence to the country as soon as conditions matured. On January 28, an executive commission was formed with Jorge Vargas as chief commissioner to maintain peace and order in the country. Subsequently, with the fall of Corregidor, the Philippines was practically ridden of American influence. The executive commission, under the supervision of the Japanese military administration, began to discharge its duties ably and smoothly. For the purpose of restoring peace and order, it instituted a system of neighbourhood co-operation and, in order to make the Philippines return to its original status, started eliminating the detrimental vestiges of the past American rule. On January 28 Premier General Hidéki Toho of Japan proclaimed through the Diet that the Philippines would be accorded the status of an independent nation. The Filipino people, warmly receiving this proclamation, manifested their hearty co-operation with the Japanese military administration.

In 1943, the conditions in the Philippines improved so much that Japan decided to accord it independence within that year. In May, Premier Toho visited Manila and informed the Filipino people that they would regain independence soon. In June, speaking at the eighty-second session of the Diet, Premier Toho announced that the Philippines would be made an independent State within 1943. In response to the Premier's definite announcement, a Philippine Independence Preparation Committee was formed with Jose P. Laurel as chairman. On September 4 a draft Constitution was prepared by the committee and it was approved by a national convention on September 25. The approval of the Constitution presaged the inauguration of an independent Philippine Republic. At the convention Jose P. Laurel was unanimously selected as President-elect of the forthcoming Republic of the Philippines. On September 30 President-elect Laurel accompanied by a party of Filipino leaders visited Japan to confer with Premier Toho and other Japanese Government leaders on matters pertaining to the formal assumption of independence by the Philippines. On returning to Manila, President-elect Laurel in a statement issued on October 7 stated that the formal inauguration of

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the Republic of the Philippines would take place on October 14. With the issuance of this statement, the long freedom fight of the Filipinos came to a close.

When October 14 dawned on Manila, the political life of the Philippines received anew, free vigour. With the ringing of church-bells, the attainment of independence by the country was proclaimed, and the Philippine Republic was born as a full-fledged nation. After due ceremony, Jose P. Laurel was formally installed as the first President. Simultaneous with the establishment of the Republic of the Philippines, the Japanese military administration was dissolved and a Japanese-Filipino alliance pact was concluded to strive for the consummation of the war objective, so that the organization of a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere would become firm and stable. When the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations was held in Tokyo on November 5 and 6, President Laurel attended it as the representative of the emancipated Filipino people. Addressing the assembly, he vowed the co-operation of his country for the cause of constructing a greater East Asia. As long as the Philippines remained under the rule of Spain and the United States, it found it almost impracticable to gain its freedom. But Japan granted it independence not only in the midst of a gigantic war, but within less than two years after the enforcement of military administration. Thus Japan, too, contributed immensely to the last and final freedom fight of the Filipinos.

(Concluded)

JAPAN'S PERIODICALS—EXTRACTS

CONSTITUTION AND POLITICS

Recently, the Government announced a plan for strengthening the internal structure to meet the immediate war requirements of the nation. Knowing fully well that the future of Japan depends on the final outcome of the current hostilities, the Government has placed the home front on a decisive total war footing. The Japanese people as a whole are welcoming the plan for reinforcing the strength of the nation to the highest possible limit, for they realize their responsibility in facilitating the execution of all emergency measures. Under the new project, the administrative fabric is bound to undergo a remarkable alteration in order to insure the successful prosecution of hostilities on the one hand and the continued maintenance of national solidarity based on the Japanese conception of national polity on the other. Already the peculiar character of the Japanese Constitution is manifesting itself to give practical instance of the indivisibility of the supreme command and politics in this country.

In view of war, many normal constitutional procedures have been suspended temporarily, and yet there has been no change in the basic framework of the Constitution. This is due to the traditional trait of offering national service whether in time of peace or war. Because the offering of national service constitutes the principal attribute of the Japanese people, all wartime steps are being implemented in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The plan to augment the fighting power of the home front is quite constitutional in application. Confronted with an unprecedented emergency, Japan has been obliged to work the Constitution on a wartime scale, and for that reason national politics has been revamped to comply with the demand of the times.

There is no denying the fact that, as a result of the inter-country harmony which has emerged in this part of the world, it has become incumbent on the part of Japan to revise its politics in the light of greater sphere unity. Japan can no longer regard its politics only as a thing national; it has to view it as the essential channel of propagating

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regionalism, so that a uniform sphere-politics would develop for the common good of all the nations of the region. When the present politics of Japan is compared with that prevailing fifty years ago, it will be seen that this country, forsaking the earlier parliamentary politics, has now come to adopt sphere-politics for national and regional security. As the influence of Japan has extended to the entire sphere of greater East Asia, its politics has naturally become inseparable from it. In widening the scope of politics as an attempt to accomplish the durable construction of a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere, Japan has not exceeded the bounds of propriety specified in the Constitution, for the hostilities that it is waging are primarily directed toward protecting its Constitution by aiding the different nations of greater East Asia to find their proper places in the comity of nations.

The fast changing developments and circumstances have prompted Japan to give effect to a policy of reciprocity to live in amity and cordiality with the contiguous countries, which under Anglo-American domination had been estranged from it. This transformation of Japan has materialized, for it has found it vital to eliminate alien influences from this section of the Orient for the purpose of consummating homogeneity acceptable to all the component nations. Consequently, Japan has become honour bound to extend all possible assistance to its partner-nations. While thus the political outlook of Japan has become regional, the nations of greater East Asia have developed new political aspirations to share the common destiny with this country. Japan's regional spirit is not a hastily promoted expediency; its Constitution makes it explicit that it should always endeavour to live in harmony with its neighbours and thereby contribute to the preservation of world peace. This conception obviously discloses the lofty character of the polity of Japan. Moreover, it indicates that the traditional constitutional spirit of Japan remains unaltered, despite the era of parliamentary politics which existed from the Meiji era until the dissolution of all political parties during the tenure of the second Konoye Cabinet. Then when the present Tojo Ministry was organized after the resignation of the third Konoye Cabinet, Japan, casting off incompatible parliamentarism, returned to its indigenous constitutional politics to reinforce the rule of the Throne.

It must be observed that, irrespective of wartime exigencies, no attempt has been made to alter a single article of the Constitution. Its form remains intact, because it is coeval with the spirit of the nation. However, political reformations have been carried out to make politics

amenable to national sentiments and feelings. For that reason, party politics has ceased to exist. The single-dimensional politics that is now in operation fully conforms to the time-honoured political mentality of the nation. The Emperor Meiji promulgated the Constitution to safeguard the advancement of the nation as a whole and not for the individual benefits of politicians and administrators. Unfortunately, the upsurge of party politics added an alien feature to national politics, and so certain quarters mistakenly conceived the Constitution as a parliamentary machinery. Such a mistaken thought was liquidated when party politics disappeared lately. At present, Japan is following its traditional politics, that is, national service politics, which enjoys the due sanction of the Constitution.

The political aspect of the Japanese Constitution is not related to parliamentary politics, but to national service politics. That is why the administrative and political reforms that have been hitherto carried out to meet the emergency requirements are perfectly constitutional. It would be erroneous to consider them as purely wartime steps unconnected with the working of the Constitution. It must be especially noted that the war, instead of restricting the scope of the Constitution, is facilitating its stipulated manifestation to protect the right of existence of Japan and also of greater East Asia. Internally, the Japanese Constitution is functioning as a symbol of national solidarity, and externally, it is rendering assistance to the actualization of greater East Asia homogeneity. In this sense, a relation between it and greater East Asia can be perceived. Since the international relationship of a country is governed by its Constitution, it is befitting that Japan's relations with greater East Asia should be fostered under its Constitution.

In a way, it can be said that the Constitution of Japan denotes the crystallization of the national spirit at the early stage of the Meiji era. It was promulgated for the purpose of aiding the rule of the Throne, which is the age-old political characteristic of the country. Therefore, in Japan, constitutional politics signifies the offering of national service for the protection and preservation of the rule of the Throne. On February 11, 1889, the Emperor Meiji himself reported to the Imperial Ancestors the promulgation of the Constitution and pledged its faithful observance. His action in effect connoted that the entire nation had returned to the traditional conception of national service politics. Article 4 in Chapter 1 says: "The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them

according to the provisions of the present Constitution." The implication of this article is that Japan is required to pursue its national constitutional politics, thereby aiding the rule of the Throne. Hence, it is apparent that in Japan politics is of national service character—a peculiarity which is now giving its proper display.

When in 1890 the Diet was formally convened in enforcement of the Constitution, a certain Minister of State expressed the opinion that, as the people were unacquainted with its actual application, it would be judicious to suspend temporarily its operation and prorogue the Diet at the same time in order to give them sufficient time to receive the necessary constitutional training. Tsuyoshi Inoué, a member of Parliament, assailed the opinion of the Minister and reminded the House out that in promulgating the Constitution the Emperor had personally reported to the Imperial Ancestors its faithful observance. Therefore, a temporary suspension of the Constitution would tantamount to the rejection of the wish of the Throne—an act of violation which could never be contemplated by the Japanese people. Thus the opinion of the Minister was dropped forthwith and the Diet went on with its scheduled business. The incident is quoted to point out that even at the dawn of parliamentary politics, when Japan was applauding the glamour of the West, the popular will upheld the imperativeness of submitting to the inviolability of the Throne for the protection of national polity. The provisions of the Constitution cannot be ignored in conducting politics. The latter cannot exist in this country without the sanction and support of the former. It is no wonder that Japanese politics is now directly aiding the rule of the Throne falling back upon the traditional conception of service to the State.

The Constitution is not only the propelling force of Japanese politics, but also its controlling agency, spiritually and ideologically. The Constitution is sacred and its provisions cannot be interpreted to make room for the acquisition of sectional gains. It lays down that all benefits derived by the people must be for the advancement and enrichment of the State. The Emperor Meiji once said that the Constitution offered to the people the advantage of running the administration in accordance with the fundamentals of national polity. Since ancient times, it has been a practice in Japan for the subjects to participate in the rule of the Throne. The constitutional politics centring on the Emperor which came to be initiated in the Meiji era was nothing but a vigorous revival of the traditional national service politics in

modern times.

The most important political aspect of the Constitution is that it enjoins the subjects to remain obedient to the absoluteness of the sovereign and display loyalty to the Throne in every action. The absoluteness of the sovereign signifies that sovereignty is the manifestation of the Imperial virtues since the founding of the Japanese Empire, and that sovereignty is all-embracing and not to be made relative. On the other hand, as sovereignty works inseparably with the general populace for the protection of the State, the subjects are looked upon as the children of the Emperor, who is their father. This peculiarity of the Japanese Constitution, which is based on national heritage, precludes the possibility of adopting a political system alien to the soil. The absoluteness of the sovereign renders invalid all irreconcilable political aspirations and dispenses with the method of having constitutional prerogatives for the Throne. In other countries, monarchs are constitutionally provided with more than ten special privileges as prerogatives. In Japan, no such special privileges are required because of the absoluteness of the Throne. During the early days of constitutional politics in the country, certain legislators prepared a list of more than ten special privileges to be exercised by the Emperor in dealing with the rights of the subjects to aid the rule of the Throne, but they never tried to limit the Imperial absoluteness, which has existed from the very beginning of the founding of the Japanese Empire. The Emperor being supreme and above all things in this country, the people are morally, spiritually and constitutionally required to offer their services to him loyally and unselfishly. In the political field, too, they are required to follow an identical step.

The rights and duties of the subjects are outlined in Chapter II of the Constitution. Article 31 states that the provisions contained in the said chapter shall not affect "the exercise of the powers appertaining to the Emperor, in times of war or in cases of a national emergency." This stipulation is significant, for it acknowledges that in wartime the Emperor, in order to protect the integrity of the State, can suspend the ordinary exercise of the rights and duties of the subjects. If the present administrative and political reforms are viewed in the light of this stipulation, it will be seen that Japan has adopted an emergency administrative system to meet the hazards of the war. Politics is now manifesting as national service politics primarily to insure the security of the State and make the people contribute their maximum to the successful prosecution of hostilities. The unprece-

dent nature of the current emergency has compelled the nation to organize itself into a total war fabric to protect the rule of the Throne and perform emergency duties as ordained by the Constitution.

The spiritual character of the Constitution may be understood when the aforesaid Article 31 is compared with Article 14 which provides for an Imperial declaration of a state of seige. The Emperor in the exercise of his power can declare a state of seige to protect the integrity of the State and thus make every national obey his wish, which is inviolable. Under the prevailing war structure, the entire resources of the nation have been mobilized to augment the fighting efficiency to the maximum limit possible. As Japan has staked its very existence on this armed venture, it is natural that its State fabric should resemble a total war organization of a united people. With the object of safeguarding national unity, politics has been reconstituted into State politics in accordance with the traditional conception of offering loyal services to aid and protect the rule of the Throne. The war has revealed the elasticity and comprehensiveness of the Japanese Constitution, as well as the unique character of national service politics.

—Toyo-o Ohgushi (The *Chuo Koron*, November, 1943)¹

THE SYSTEM OF TONARI-GUMI

The *Tonari-gumi* (Neighbourhood Association) system of Japan is unique in that it helps the fostering of the good-neighbourly spirit among the different neighbourhood units, as well as fellowship and mutual reliance. On account of war, the *Tonari-gumi* system has become an integral part of the national structure. In the past, there was a similar system in the form of *Gonin-gumi* (Five-men Neighbourhood Unit). Therefore, it can be said that from the idea of the *Gonin-gumi* has sprung up the present system of having neighbourhood units throughout the country. Each unit is now operating as a self-contented organization, and it is charged with the duty of looking after the spiritual, moral and material needs of its members.

It is believed that the necessity of having a nation-wide neighbourhood association system was first advocated by the National Spiritual Mobilization League, for it thought that the establishment of such an

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organization was indispensable to the promotion and maintenance of national unity. It argued that if a locality was organized into a neighbourhood unit, the people residing therein would automatically profess mutual reliance and harmony and thus remain spontaneously united. On this basis, it asserted that if the system was sponsored on a national scale, there was no doubt that not only national unity would be maintained constantly, but also an ideal good-neighbourly spirit would come to prevail. Obviously, the league advocated the formation of a neighbourhood association with the object of reinforcing national solidarity. The *Tonari-gumi* system that is now functioning in the country has as its fundamental goal the same objective.

After the commencement of the China affair, when the need of enhancing national strength was renewedly felt, neighbourhood units sporadically appeared in different parts of the country. The emergence of such units indicated that it would be highly beneficial to have a national neighbourhood organization, making each neighbourhood into a component unit of it. With the prolongation of the China affair, more neighbourhood units came to be established. The preponderance of these units suggested the advisability of co-ordinating their operations by having a national neighbourhood association. In this way, the *Tonari-gumi* system was finally inaugurated and each neighbourhood was made a component unit. Then when the current war in greater East Asia broke out, the *Tonari-gumi* system at once became an important part of the national structure. It was especially authorized to undertake the task of distributing certain categories of commodities and ration tickets to the general populace through its numerous units, besides assisting in the strengthening of the home defence fabric.

Today, the Neighbourhood Association is functioning as a wartime civilian organization of the country. Each of its units is looking after the distribution of commodity supplies to its members and in addition has become a local air defence squad. Furthermore, each neighbourhood unit is contributing appreciably to the maintenance and fostering of national strength and unity. Nevertheless, it must be said that the present structure of the association is far from complete, as its framework remains yet to be properly developed. There seems to be a lack of cohesion among the different neighbourhood units. The reason for this defect is that the neighbourhood spirit has not yet permeated fully. However, it is true that neighbourhood

harmony is steadily rising, thereby disclosing that co-operation and mutual aid in the maintenance of life and living are fast becoming the key elements of the national structure.

As the Neighbourhood Association is a civilian organization without having any specific legal backing, its operation cannot be rationalized unless a law is promulgated making it a juridical State body. If it is legalized, its operation would be more systematic and efficient, for it would have to abide by legal provisions. Although the legalization of the system is desirable, it must be mentioned that under State control it would forfeit the benefit of voluntary co-operation, which is the basic ingredient in the propagation of good-neighbourliness and mutual aid. Also its civilian character would be lost and the people would be naturally impelled to consider that the responsibility for its smooth functioning rested with the Government. Since the system aims at securing the voluntary service of the people as a whole for the advantage of each neighbourhood unit and the nation, it would not be judicious to legalize it, for such a method would restrict the scope of civilian participation. The Government, having recognized this point, is refraining from legalizing the *Tonari-gumi*. However, it can be anticipated that if the pressure of the present emergency increases, the legalization of the Neighbourhood Association would become unavoidable in order to cope with fresh contingencies.

With a view to rectifying the defects of the present system and avoiding its eventual legalization, the Taisei Yokusan Kai (National Service Association) is reported to have decided to appoint "séwanin" (managers) for the principal localities under which groups of neighbourhood units function. It has, moreover, appointed a guiding committee to give proper instructions to the principal units as to how the *Tonari-gumi* system should be run. The deep concern that is being shown by the National Service Association to improve the system cannot but be welcomed; yet it is necessary to point out that, in trying to improve it, steps should be taken to enhance its originality and autonomy. If an outside control is imposed on it, the operation of its autonomous machinery would be complicated and this would defeat the realization of the contemplated purpose. Consequently, it would be a good thing to implement such measures as would increase the efficiency of its autonomous machinery as rationally as possible.

If the activities of the association are scrutinized, it will be seen that it is merely carrying out official orders in a passive or rather mechanical manner. It feels that it would be improper to take initia-

tive in doing a thing without receiving the prior official sanction. In other words, for most matters it waits for the arrival of official orders and thus omits to display its own initiative. It declines to understand that the prior official sanction is required only when an important matter is to be dealt with, and that such an approval is not necessary in conducting its legitimate normal business aimed at strengthening neighbourly unity and co-operation. However, it would be incorrect to lay the whole blame on the shoulders of the *Tonari-gumi*, because it has its own limitations in conducting its business. For instance, the officials of the Choh-nai-kai (Ward Councils), who are directly responsible for the maintenance of the well-being of the wards, are selected without ascertaining the wish or the opinion of the Neighbourhood Association. Hence, it feels that it is the duty of the Ward Councils to take all initiatives in looking after the welfare of the neighbourhood units.

It seems that, for making the *Tonari-gumi* a high-power civilian organization, it would be better to grant it the right of participation in the selection of the officials of the Ward Councils. Likewise, it would be highly encouraging to give it representations on the Co-operative Council of the National Service Association, for such an inducement would automatically make it extremely conscious of its responsibility in conducting its affairs in a more efficient and rational manner, that is, the *Tonari-gumi* would become more active, discarding its present passive way of doing things. There is every reason to say that the scope of the *Tonari-gumi* must be widened to make it the real medium of co-operative living, so popularly advocated by all shades of opinion in the country. Every neighbourhood units must be instructed to exchange views and discuss all affairs relative to the strengthening of co-operative living.

When one attends the usual monthly meeting of a neighbourhood unit, he at once becomes conscious that such a gathering has been called primarily to satisfy the stipulated regulation. The members merely conduct the routine business and refrain from exchanging constructive opinions. Because they exhibit this passiveness, they do not show any marked enthusiasm to augment the good-neighbour spirit and vitalize mutual unity. They take it for granted that the augmentation of the good-neighbour spirit and vitalization of mutual unity are the duties of those organizations which are issuing orders for the running of the Neighbourhood Association. This passive outlook can only be eliminated when each of the associations is made an active organiza-

tion vested with the responsibility of maintaining the welfare of its area as an autonomous body. To be more plain, the association should be empowered to issue orders for the administration of all its affairs exclusive of those connected with the home air defence.

The current trend of the war situation indicates that there would be new developments in the near future. It can be imagined that with the progress of hostilities the responsibility and the function of the *Tonari-gumi* would be enlarged further in order to make it a more vital organization of the home front. In that event it will have to be enthusiastically active to look after the requirements of the neighbourhood units displaying high efficiency and ability. This would concurrently help the propagation of the good-neighbour spirit and in turn strength national solidarity. At present, the *Tonari-gumi*, among other things, is doing commendable work to maintain ideological and spiritual unity. As the time moves, it is bound to undergo a certain amount of orientation to meet the new contingencies that would come to prevail.

—Tatsuo Tsukui (The *Nippon Hyoron*, November, 1943)¹

ABOLITION OF AGE-LIMIT

In normal time, the system of having age-limit for all kinds of occupations is preferable, for the retirement of aged persons is necessary to create openings for the younger ones. Ordinarily in all kinds of services, private and official, when a person has served for a long number of years, he is permitted to enjoy the benefit of retirement. He withdraws from active service, because it is considered that he has reached the age-limit for work. In wartime, especially when total hostilities are to be waged, those persons who have reached the age-limit cannot be left out of the scope of general national mobilization. The Japanese Government is now considering to abolish the system of age-limit in order to utilize men of advanced age for such war occupations as would be suitable to their physical and mental capability.

Recently, the Government suspended the postponement of military conscription and ordered the mobilization of workers of different categories for wartime service. Simultaneously, it has intensified the requisitioning of women workers to divert more male operatives to war industries. All these steps aim at making the general national

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mobilization as complete as possible. Consequently, the abolition of the age-limited system has been proposed to comply with the requirements of total mobilization. Those officials who have been placed on the retired list and those private persons who have withdrawn from their respective active services due to advanced age are proposed to be drafted into wartime duties commensurate with their skill and capability. It has been ascertained that all the retired persons are not necessarily unqualified for a further period of service. The age-limit system is purely a peace-time provision. In wartime a man can be put on duty until such time as he is found physically and mentally unfit.

It is generally argued that a man when he has reached the age-limit is no longer liable to serve another period of active work. The argument presupposes that a man on reaching the age-limit becomes unfit for further service. The question is whether the age-limit signifies the unfitness on the part of a worker. The system in this connection clarifies that a man is usually made to retire not because he is incapable of continuing his duties, but because he must make room for another man after completing a long period of service. Therefore, the age-limit does not mean that an aged person has become disqualified for service. It may be that some men of advanced age become physically unfit for active work; but that does not mean that all the so-called overage persons should be classed in the category of incapable beings. The fact is that the majority of them keep themselves so fit that they could be easily reutilized for another stretch of work.

It is not possible to state definitely that every man, on reaching such and such age, becomes disqualified for active work. A man may become unsuitable for work before reaching what is popularly called advanced age, while another man even reaching the advanced age may remain hale and hearty. Dr. Schleisinger, in discussing the diseases suffered during the advanced age, says that a man of advanced age is not necessarily an "old man." According to him, an old man (*greis*) is an individual who gives the complete impression of physical and spiritual maturity by the change of his outward appearance and intrinsic nature. In the German-Japanese dictionary by Mr. Katayama, the word *greis* is translated as a "white-haired old man," that is, *okina*. In the *Ghénkai Dictionary* it is said that "okina" either means "a matured man" or "a long-lived man." It will, therefore, be seen that an old man is generally referred to as a person who has attained maturity. He is not characterized as an unfit being. If an old man is not taken as an unfit being, it is apparent that a person of advanced age cannot

be classed as a man unsuitable for active service.

Now that the abolition of the age-limit is under contemplation, it may be assumed that not only persons of advanced age, but also overage ones, that is, "old men" would be liable to mobilization. In considering the capability of a man, his age need not be taken into special account. If he is found fit for work, he can be utilized, even though he may have reached the so-called age-limit. A glance at history shows that many persons accomplished meritorious deeds between the ages of seventy and eighty. Darwin, Goethe, Titian, Chu-kei Ino and Hokusai, Katsushika were all not only active in old age, but produced excellent works, too. Of course, the activities of these personages cannot be taken to mean that the average old man is qualified to perform specialized service. Nevertheless, this much can be said that old age does not denote the incapability of a man. By way of making a general assumption, it can be said that persons between forty-five and fifty-five years of age or more can be conscripted to offer national service during wartime.

By temporarily abolishing the age-limit, Japan will be able to acquire the services of a certain percentage of population now remaining comparatively idle. According to Schleisinger, the persons of advanced age in a country constitute five to ten per cent. of the total population. This shows that the number of aged persons is limited in a country. It is admitted by all concerned that the virility of a nation is maintained by its younger population and not by overage persons. Consequently, there are some who think that it would not be detrimental to the interest of a nation if the people who have reached the age-limit are left out of mobilization. This view is literally correct; but when a nation becomes involved in a total war requiring the fullest utilization of the available manpower, it becomes incumbent on its part to mobilize even the overage people for emergency duties. Since Japan has been obliged to prosecute a total war, it is reasonable on its part to conscript persons of advanced age for the carrying out of certain categories of emergency work. Therefore, the proposition to do away with the age-limit system for the duration of the war in order to increase the emergency manpower strength at home is certainly a move in the right direction.

—Yoshikata Nishikawa (The *Bungbei Shunju*, November, 1943)¹

¹ Yoshikata Nishikawa, M. D., is a court physician.

BOOK REVIEWS

AYEGU YEIKOKU NO SĒNJI SEITAI (WARTIME CONDITION IN HARASSED BRITAIN). By Kitaro Kato. *The Shincho-sha, Tokyo*. pp. 205. 1.80 yen.

For ten years prior to the outbreak of the present European war the author of this book was stationed in London as commercial attaché to the Japanese Embassy. A year after the start of hostilities he was dispatched to South Africa, but was recalled to London, where he remained until he departed for home on board the exchange ship *El Nil* in July, 1942. He utilized his opportunity to observe Britain at war with the eyes of a diplomat interested in economic affairs. What he actually saw in wartime Britain and what he thought of it are narrated in this volume. He says that when Britain declared war on Germany the entire British people, accepting the new state of affairs as an inevitability, readily began to adjust themselves to wartime life.

The author is of the opinion that up to the time of the Dunkirk *débâcle* the peoples of neutral countries, including Japan, had taken it for granted that the defeat of Britain was a matter of time. They indulged in such a prognostication, because their knowledge about Britain was very limited. Many people in Japan thought that Britain would have to submit to Germany within a short time. Then when Britain grimly withstood the severe aerial bombardments launched by Germany in the wake of British withdrawal from the French coast, several quarters in neutral countries came to change their notion about the tenacity of John Bull. Their momentary change of attitude was superficial, for they judged Britain in terms of its enduring capacity as reflected in its determination to "face the music." They took no interest in probing into the source of such an enduring capacity. They failed to appreciate that Britain would undergo any amount of hardship to preserve and protect its "capitalist way of life."

The tone of the book suggests that it has been written with the intention of rectifying slipshod views that are being held by certain circles in the country in regard to warring Britain. It endeavours to give a genuine picture of the British war fabric by discussing its good,

as well as bad, points. The wartime economic system has been dealt with exhaustively to acquaint the readers with the methods and plans that have been adopted by Britain to wage hostilities. It is added that Britain is confronted with various obstacles which are hampering the smooth gearing up of its war efforts. For example, mention is made of shortage of manpower and difficulty to attain self-sufficiency in food supply. In regard to industrial activity, it is pointed out that production has not increased tremendously on account of the scarcity of labour, lack of harmony between capital, labour and administration and less output of coal, the principal industrial motive power, due to the non-settlement of the miners' grievances. In other words, the author reaches the conclusion that the wartime economic set-up of Britain is far from efficient.

The food shortage experienced by the country in the last World War has made the Government thoroughly conscious of adopting a judicious food policy to tide over the emergency. At the outset of the European war, London exerted its utmost to implement measures designed to insure food sufficiency. It began to import foodstuffs from the empire countries and colonies, so that the British people would not suffer from malnutrition. To safeguard the nutrition of the people, it concentrated on securing sugar, fat and wheat and curtailed the importation of other foodstuffs which were not vital to the maintenance of daily life. In this way, it managed to economize on shipping bottoms. Because sugar, wheat and fat could be imported sufficiently without having large fleets of transports, Britain from the very beginning of the war started conserving its shipping bottoms and laid stress on importing only these three items.

For a country with limited population, its annual wheat requirement can be satisfied by importing a few ship-loads. It is said that one medium-sized vessel is able to carry enough wheat to support a city of 40,000 for one year. In consideration of this fact, it must be said that Britain adopted a wise policy in concentrating on the importation of wheat, fat and sugar which take in the least shipping space. While the importation of foodstuffs was adjusted thus, a scheme was sponsored to increase the raising of potatoes domestically as a substitute for wheat and facilitate the promotion of food self-sufficiency. Also by strengthening the system of subsidizing farms, the Government encouraged intensive food production. In line with this food policy, the Government enforced control on distribution and established the Food Control Committee to look after the distribution

of foodstuffs at officially fixed prices and quotas, thereby conserving supplies and preventing the skyrocketing of commodity prices. Besides, various other measures were put into effect to popularize "group meal" supply system and "kitchen corps on wheels." For the proper nourishment of babies and children, care was taken to make available special supplies.

Although Britain at the beginning of the European war managed to enforce efficient food control measures, with the progress of hostilities, however, the food situation became so bad that the rationing of certain items, for instant meat, had to be reduced; and yet no attempt was made to curtail the bread ration, because the British Government recognized that the supply of less bread would impair the health of the people. To Britain, which is an industrial country, the food problem is, indeed, a serious one. The home production is not sufficient enough to meet the bare demands of the people. Hence, Britain is obliged to depend on imported foodstuffs to maintain its daily living. The wartime conditions have no doubt affected the supply lines of Britain; nonetheless, it is managing to bring over foods from the United States and other neutral countries and the units of the British Empire. In spite of the importation of foodstuffs, Britain is undergoing a food shortage, and this implies that it is unable to acquire huge volumes owing to wartime difficulties.

The British coal mining industry is the backbone of the country's heavy industrial set-up. After the last World War, the appearance of heavy oil as fuel and the augmentation in the output of coal in Holland and the Ruhr area proved not so favourable to the stride of British industries. The subsequent German industrial development and the enterprise of the Netherlands to seek an industrial expansion registered an adverse effect on the promotion of export industries in Britain. In consequence, the production of British coal remained almost stationary. On the ensuance of the European war, steps were taken to increase the output of coal to meet the expanded coal demand of France. But after the capitulation of that country, Britain thought it advisable to restrict coal production and drafted miners under thirty years of age into military service. As a result, the coal-mining population was reduced from the pre-war figure of 765,000 to 700,000. Then when Britain's position became critical after the establishment of German supremacy in Europe, greater output of coal was demanded to run the war industries on an intensified scale. The author asserts that Britain has not yet been able to stabilize a broad expansion in coal production,

because the labour-capital trouble has not been solved. He cites the shelving of the Beaveridge coal quota system of April, 1942, as a case in point. According to him, Britain is now facing an approximate annual coal shortage of 24,000,000 tons. Also he states that the recent plan to mobilize sixteen-year boys as coal miners suggests how acute has become the coal problem.

So far as the manpower question is concerned, the limitation in British population is quoted to emphasize the London Government's difficulty in adopting a high-tension wartime mobilization policy. On September 27, this year, Secretary of Labour Bevin confessed that "the mobilization of manpower resources has already reached the limit." At present, Britain is using for wartime duties ninety-one per cent. of unmarried women between eighteen and forty years of age and eighty per cent. of childless married women of the same ages. Besides, 1,600,000 women between the ages of forty and sixty are employed in various kinds of job. And now the registration of sixteen-year old boys and girls has started. On the whole, it must be said that the manpower mobilization scheme of Britain has been very intensive, and so it is not possible for it to secure more manpower for wartime service. If Britain tries to mobilize more men and women for war work, it will have to reckon with social disruption and serious shrinkage in population in the coming years. In May, 1940, Britain earnestly enforced manpower mobilization. Then in December, 1942, the military service age was advanced to fifty-one and the National Service Law was enacted making compulsory the mobilization of women between twenty and thirty years of age for auxiliary military work, industrial service and local defence duties. This comprehensive mobilization has proved insufficient to meet the high-tension manpower need of warring Britain. In consequence, new measures are being put into motion to press into wartime service those men and women who could be spared with difficulty.

The book then goes on to discuss the wartime budgets of Britain, the position of national income in relation to war expenditure resources, the situation prevailing in the war industries of the country and the post-war economic issue. It is observed that the exigencies of war have compelled Britain to take an all-out view of the prosecution of hostilities, with the result that its expenditure has increased beyond the limit of national income. Its obligation to the United States has rendered its economic position unstable. The shortage of key materials has slowed down war production. In the post-war period, whether

Britain regains prosperity or not, it has to be satisfied with a secondary position, for its days of economic mastery have definitely gone.

This book has been specially written for the Japanese readers to make them understand the problems of wartime Britain as reflected in the operation of diverse emergency measures interjected with the author's comments thereon based mostly on past personal observations.

NIPPON KAMÉN-SHI (HISTORY OF JAPANESE MASKS). By Seiroku Noma. The Gheibun Sho-in, Tokyo. pp. 340. 4.50 yen.

The author at the outset mentions that since ancient times many countries have produced masks, but most of the earlier ones have perished due to neglect. It is only in Japan that some three hundred masks made twelve hundred years ago are still preserved. The Japanese classical masks have many varieties, such as *ghigaku* masks used at Buddhist temple festivals, *gyodoh* (procession) masks, *bugaku* (dance) masks used at court functions or temple festivals and masks for *noh* and *kyoghen* stage-shows. The majority of them are extremely artistic, and they denote the peculiar æsthetic sensibility of the Japanese people.

This book has been written as an attempt to rediscover the ancient artistic characteristics of Japan. For that reason, the traditional Japanese art of mask-making has been chosen as an appropriate theme. The writer, in discussing the origin of masks, says that the human race in primitive days fashioned masks to express their belief in the existence of spirits in the objects created and the manifestation of Nature. In other words, he holds the view that the masks are originally the products of primitive animism. Because the primitive people in different parts of the world associated their life with spirit-culture, they came to use masks to symbolize their ideological faith. For invoking the aid of good spirits, they used a particular kind of masks and for exorcising evil spirits, they used another kind. Thus varieties of masks came to be developed.

In the remote ages, masks existed in almost all the spheres of the world. In Asia, there were masks in Japan, China, Tibet, Thailand, Malaya and Java; in Europe, in Greece and Tyrol; in the South Seas, in New Britain and New Guinea; in Africa, in Egypt and Congo; and in the Western Hemisphere, in Alaska, Canada and Mexico. The author points out that, while the masks produced in Greece, China and Java, where civilization made a rapid stride, failed to reach a high development, the masks of Japan made a notable progress in keeping

with the advancement of Japanese culture. Moreover, the geographical position of the country enabled it to sponsor a typical art of mask-making to express its spiritual and æsthetic sentiments. On top of this, Japan, in assimilating alien cultures, not only took suggestions from the different masks of foreign countries, but also absorbed many of their traits. Under such a nationalization, the mask culture of Japan became an integral part of national civilization.

The writer asserts that, for the understanding of mask culture, the specimens preserved in Japan offer the most essential visible introspective channel. An examination of them would enable an enthusiast to envision how in old times mask culture was practised in the world. As Japan has been scrupulous in preserving these ancient relics, it can be said that this country has always been art-minded, and that it has nationalized the æsthetic traits and techniques of other countries impelled by the motive of enriching indigenous culture and treasuring the distinct artistic features of diverse old cultures. As far as masks are concerned, Japan can as well be said "an emporium of classical mask culture." By studying the history of Japanese masks one will be able to appreciate the fundamental æsthetic emotion of the people of this country.

The writer devotes considerable attention to explain the artistic, spiritual and social significances of the masks of Japan. He says that during the reign of the Empress Suiko, the *ghigaku* music and masks were introduced into Japan. In the Nara period, the *ghigaku* music and masks became extremely popular, and during all important Buddhist temple festivals *ghigaku* performances were held. According to ancient records, at the festival opening the Tohdaiji Temple a company of sixty persons performed a *ghigaku* show. To what extent *ghigaku* was popular at that time can be judged from the relics that are now preserved in the Shoh-soh-in Repository.

Concerning the origin of *ghigaku*, there are three different views. The first is that it originated in Greece and then came to China; the second is that it was developed in the South Sea region; and the third is that it was begun in Tibet. In consideration of these contradictory views, it is not possible to state accurately which country was its original sponsor. But the *ghigaku* masks came to Japan through Chin. The author remarks that, as the tradition of *ghigaku* is not preserved, the types of its masks can only be imagined. Those *ghigaku* masks that are kept in the Shoh-soh-in Repository can be classified as follows: *chido*, a type of masks used at the head of a festive procession; *shishi*, or

lion, masks, which were brought from the western area, and became so popular that even today there is seldom seen a festival where "shishi-mai," or lion dance, is not held; *shishiko*, those masks that are used by boys to lead a "shishi" procession; *gokob*, a kind of mask used by a man who plays a flute and carries a fan; *kongo*, a variety of masks for so-called Kongo strongmen; and *karura*, or snake masks, used to show the eating of poisonous serpents as described in an Indian Buddhist myth.

In Japan, *ghigaku* masks are also preserved in the Tohdaiji and other temples. They are called *kuron*, *gojo*, *rikishi*, *baramon*, *taiko* and *suiko*. All the extant *ghigaku* masks are made of camphor wood or paulownia and coloured with cinnabar, red lead, verdigris and other pigments. The hair on head and eyebrows of each mask are made by planting or pasting real hair. The expressions on the masks are of varied forms; some are joyful, some sad and others vigorous. There are different kinds of masks which represent male, female and animal beings. Then there are neutral-expression *ghigaku* masks, which have been adapted from the form used by the women of Wu China. After the introduction of *ghigaku* masks, came the *bugaku* ones from Tang China. The *bugaku* ones can be divided into *saboh-gaku* and *uboh-gaku* masks. The former ones were used in connection with the performance of Tang music and *rinyu-gaku*. A portion of them was independently developed in Japan. The latter ones are masks for holding some *ghigaku* performances and *dora-gaku* and *koh-rai-gaku*. Some of these masks, too, originated in Japan.

Bugaku was popular through the Nara, Heian and Kamakura periods. Later on, it was revived in the Yedo age. In the Meiji era, it was placed under the protection of the Imperial Court with a view to preserving it. As *bugaku* has the tradition of being the court music, its masks reflect the progress of Japanese culture. The *gagaku* masks were mainly used for acting, and so their shapes and expressions are realistic. On the other hand, as the *bugaku* ones were mostly used for rhythmic dancing, they are figurative and artistic in finish. Quite apart from these masks, the *gyodo* masks came to be developed to heighten the ritualistic atmosphere of Buddhist processions. Originally, they came either from the western area or from India by way of China. However, they made special developments in this country. For instance, from the *gyodo* masks Japan developed devil masks which were made use of during the holding of temple ceremonies.

Lastly, the author deals with the *nob* and *kyoghen* masks which, he

says, are the products of the highly developed tradition of mask-making in the country. At first, the *nob* masks were introduced into Japan from China in the Nara period, and from the *sangaku* of the continent developed the aristocratic *nob* and plebeian *kyoghen* in the country. The characteristics of *nob* are realism, dance recital and tragedy, while those of *kyoghen* are realism, non-existence of dance recital and comedy. The realism detectible in *nob* and *kyoghen* is related to the similar feature of *ghigaku*. Still it must be noted that the realism of *ghigaku* is artless; whereas that of *nob* is refined. There are five kinds of *nob* masks which are used to impersonate super-human beings, men, women, insane creatures and devils. Although these masks are refinedly artistic and the existence of tragic features in them introduces a typical individualistic beauty. If the *nob* masks can be called masks of tragedy, the *kyoghen* ones have to be acknowledged as masks of comedy. The *kyoghen* masks generally have a pleasing appearance and this excites the humour of the spectators. Thus *nob* and *kyoghen* disclose the contrast in the artistic sensibility of Japan.

The author in this volume has made an attractive survey of mask culture, of the classical masks that are extant in Japan and of the masks that are being used at present in the country during religious festivals, court ceremonies and stage-shows. As a work on culture, it has its merits.

NIPPON NO SAIREI (FESTIVALS OF JAPAN). By Keisen Motoyama. *The Hakko Shoten, Tokyo. pp. 350. 2.10 yen.*

Since the Meiji era, many of the traditional festivals have ceased to exist in the urban localities of Japan. In the rural areas, however, they are not only preserved, but are duly celebrated with great enthusiasm. In this book, the author has enumerated in detail the festivals of Japan that are held every year. He says that a certain amount of knowledge of the festivals is necessary to appraise in right perspective the mode of the daily life of the Japanese people and their customs, manners and rituals. In all, the work has five chapters. Each of the first three deals with particular national festivals, while the remaining two record the prevailing festivals in general. There is also an appendix, in which the celebration days of the important national festivals and the places where they are held are tabulated.

The first chapter dwells on the Fire Festival. It is pointed out that from the seasonal viewpoint it can be divided into two separate festivals—spring fire and autumn fire. The spring fire festival is

held from January 15 to the beginning of spring by the lunar calendar and the autumn fire festival from July 7 to July 15 by the same calendar. The Fire Festival has the significance of appeasing the "Gods of heaven and earth" by burning fire at the division of winter and spring and of summer and autumn. Sometimes seasonal fire festivals are held during the winter solstice and the New Year's Eve. The Okéramatsuri of the Yasaka Shrine, Kyoto, and the Shoh-rei-matsuri of the Miyama Shrine, Uzen, are the instances of the latter. At Sugano in Nara Prefecture, a "New Year's Day Fire" ceremony is observed, and obeisance is made at the tutelary shrine praying for the good health of all the inhabitants of the locality.

The fire festival held at the division of winter and spring is ritualistic, as well as symbolistic. By burning fire, the "Gods of heaven and earth" are invited to grace the coming of the warm spring, so that the people, young and old, by offering prayers to them may obtain blessings for good harvest, long life and family prosperity. Similarly, the autumn fire festival is held to pray for the protection of the "Gods of heaven and earth" against seasonal and natural calamities, such as drought, epidemics and typhoons. Therefore, from ancient times the month of July has been considered the period of "devils' activity." At this period, in order to assuage the wrath of the "God of Fire," the fire festival is performed and the "God of Fire" worshipped. The fire festival of the summer is often interpreted as the Bon Festival. After the introduction of Buddhism, the former came to be combined with the latter, and as a result, the Bon Festival became inseparable with the summer fire festival, which, it appears, originated in the country from the primitive faith in fire worship. Subsequently, in the Buddhist period, the original summer fire festival became the Tanabata Festival of the weavers and tillers to seek the protection of deities against sickness and disasters and blessings for adequate rain and preservation of crops.

The Boat Festival forms the subject matter of the second chapter. The various types of boats used in different districts are described, and it is mentioned that, on the occasion of the sacred procession held at a local boat festival, the temporary shrine for the travelling tabernacle is made ordinarily near the sea or a river, or even carried to the sea. The Boat Festival is as important as the Fire Festival, for it is related to the daily and religious life of the people. In the following section, farming festivals are explained. It is stated that the most prominent of the farming festivals is the Rice Planting Festival, or the Festival of

Planting Rice in Shrine Fields. This ceremony is performed as a ritual and also to pray for good harvest. It is held in almost all the shrines in the country.

In Japan, the ritual concerning rice planting is observed solemnly. It is even regarded as one of the national spiritual traits. Rice being the staple food of the people, nation-wide prayers are offered to have plentiful crops. On June 24 a special ritual for planting rice is performed at the Izahayanomiya Shrine in Isé. Generally, the Rice Planting Festival is held either in May, June or July. At the Katori Shrine in Chiba Prefecture, it takes place on May 5 and 6, after which the farmers start planting rice. In the shrine paddy fields, young women, as a formality, plant rice. In some places, the festival is celebrated to the accompaniment of music and dancing. The rice planting dance and music attempt to please the spirit of the "God of the Rice Field." The mode of agrarian life in Japan can be perceived from the Rice Planting Festival.

Chapter four refers to festivals connected with the smoothing or softening the temper of the deity. In primitive days, when the people lived on farming and fishing, it was believed proper to results of fighting. They thought that such a procedure would be approved by the deity, for he, too, at times indulged in fighting to decide an issue. From such a belief, festivals sprang up to decide the priority in farming or fishing right on the basis of the actual results obtained in the course of positive contests. Today, when the country is governed by laws, there is no need to resort to a social judgment of this nature. So, the custom has become a part of festivals. By holding fighting festivals, the people of different rural areas try to smoothen or soften the temper of the deity. For instance, the Tsunabiki, or a kind of tug-of-war festival, is still observed in the country. The Tsunabiki is held in the compounds or in front of a shrine. Two parties, one representing farmers and the other fishers, begin to pull a rope from both sides. If the farmers' party wins, it means that it is the wish of the deity that the cultivators should have the priority in farming and enjoy good harvest. If the fisher's party wins, the result is decided the other way round.

In Japan, there are quite a number of fighting festivals aimed at smoothing or softening the temper of the deity. In Wakayama Prefecture, on January 14 and 15 fishermen and farmers hold a tug-of-war to decide their occupational priority and prospective results of the outcome. If the fishermen emerge victorious, they believe that by the

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grace of the deity the catch for the year would be big. In case the farmers succeed in defeating the fishermen, they become optimistic that they would be blessed with a good harvest. The localities where the custom of holding tug-of-wars still remain are from the Oh-u district in the north to Satsuma and the Loochoo Islands in the south. It is also observed in Korea. In Japan proper, Kyushu is considered the home of this kind of festival, which is held in January and February, as well as in June, July or August, that is, around the occasion of the Bon Festival. As rituals directly connected with the smoothing of the deity, mention is made of the Tamatori-matsuri of Fukuoka Prefecture, the Hadaka-matsuri of Aichi Prefecture, the Oshi-ai-matsuri of Akita Prefecture and the Dorokaké-matsuri of Chiba Prefecture. These festivals suggest that human beings even by fighting among themselves for some causes can acquire virtue and piousness.

The last chapter gives brief explanations on the various rural and urban festivals. The origin, history, type and significance of each of them are also touched upon. As the principal ones, the following are given special prominence: the Aoi-matsuri, or the April Festival, of the Kamo Shrine, Kyoto, which is called so, because on the day it is celebrated all houses place branches of "aoi" (hollyhock) at their doors; the Ghion-matsuri of the Yasaka Shrine, Kyoto, which has as its origin the prayer conducted during the reign of the Emperor Seiwa to stamp out epidemics; the festival of the Kasuga Waka-miya, Nara, which has as its source the prayer offered for national peace, good harvest and the people's happiness in the reign of the Emperor Sutoku when famine and epidemics raged; the Mihashira-matsuri of the Suwa Shrine, Suwa in Shinano Prefecture, which is called so, for the "hashira" (pillar) of the shrine is renewed every seven years; the Toh-shoh-gu-matsuri, Nagoya, the greatest festival of the city, commonly called the Gonghén-matsuri, or the April Festival; and the Waka-matsuri, Wakayama in Kii Province, held on May 17 every other year to the accompaniment of sacred dance and music and travelling tabernacles.

It must be said that all in all the author has chronicled the festivals of Japan very interestingly and with a deep sense of comprehension.

CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

October 21 The establishment of a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) is announced by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, prominent Indian nationalist leader, in Shoh-nan (Singapore). The seat of the Provisional Government will be set up in Burma. It will engage in military operations against Britain to free India.

The line-up of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind is announced as follows: Head of the Government, Director of the Military Department and Director of the Foreign Department, Subhas Chandra Bose; Director of the Finance Department, Anil Chandra Chatterji; Director of the Publicity Department, S. Appadari Aiyer; and Director of the Women's Department, Dr. Sreemati Swaminadhau Lakshmi.

Mr. Direk Jaiyanama, former Thai Ambassador to Japan, is appointed new Foreign Minister of Thailand replacing Mr. Wichit Wichit-Wathakan, newly-appointed Ambassador to Japan, it is officially announced by the Thai Government.

At Moscow, Soviet Premier Josef Stalin confers with British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, while Soviet Foreign Commissar Viacheslav Molotov holds a conference with United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

Admiral Viscount Louis Mountbatten, commander-in-chief of the Anglo-American forces in southeastern Asia, stayed at Chungking be-

tween October 17 and 20 and conferred with General Chiang Kai-shek, says a dispatch of the Central News Agency.

October 22 In operations in the New Guinea area, Japanese Army and Navy air units from September 1 to date sank and damaged seventy four enemy warships, including ten cruisers and eight destroyers, thirty-nine transports and many landing barges, shot down 164 aircraft and blasted five other planes, according to an announcement issued by the Imperial Headquarters. The announcement adds that the Japanese forces which were fighting in the Salamaua and Lae areas completed their shifting movement to the north of Lae after having exacted casualties numbering more than 12,000.

President Jose P. Laurel receives a message of felicitations from Count Francisco Jordana, Foreign Minister of Spain, on the attainment of independence by the Philippines.

Air units of the Japanese Army on October 20 raided Chittagong in eastern India and unloaded bombs on transports, wharves and other military installations and shot down two Hurricane fighters.

October 23 So far ten nations have extended recognition to the new Republic of the Philippines which declared independence on October 14. They are Japan, Manchoukuo, China, Germany, Thailand, Burma, Croatia, Fascist Republican Italy,

Bulgaria and Slovakia.

Formal recognition by the Japanese Government of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind is announced by the Board of Information.

Jorge B. Vargas, former chairman of the Philippine Executive Commission, is appointed the first Philippine Ambassador to Japan.

The Three-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference at Moscow held another parley on October 22 at the Guest Hall of the Kremlin presided over by Soviet Foreign Commissar Viacheslav Molotov.

October 24 The Provisional Government of Azad Hind declares war on Britain and the United States.

October 25 Casualties of the United States armed forces since the outbreak of the war to date, "whose next-of-kin have been notified" total 115,883, including 23,592 dead, 33,605 wounded, 32,556 missing and 26,130 taken prisoner, according to an announcement made by the United States Office of War Information. Casualties of the Navy including the marine corps and coast guard are said to total 30,725.

October 26 His Majesty the Emperor opens the eighty-third extraordinary session of the Japanese Diet.

Premier General Hidéki Toho makes a long speech on administrative policy in the House of Peers and House of Representatives on the first day of the extraordinary Diet session. In the course of his speech, he makes clear that the revision of the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty will be put in a concrete form in the near future. Premier Toho in the capacity of the War Minister and Navy

Minister Admiral Shighétaro Shimada each submits a long report on the war situation to both the Houses.

Colonel Omero Principini, former military and air attaché to the Italian Embassy in Tokyo, is dispatched to Tokyo by the Fascist Republican Government of Italy to protect its interest in Japan. He arrives here from Nanking.

October 27 "China is being restored to the Chinese," declares Foreign Minister Mamoru Shighémitsu in the course of his reply to an interpellation on war aims at a meeting of the Budget Committee of the House of Representatives.

October 28 German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop sends a reply to the notification of the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind sent by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose conveying to him the formal recognition of the Provisional Government by Germany.

Japanese Navy air units on October 27 sank one enemy cruiser instantaneously and damaged another near the landing point on Mono Island, south of Bougainville Island.

The three-day session of the eighty-third Japanese Diet ends with all of the three budgetary and fourteen legislative bills passed by both the Houses in their original forms.

Coo island of the Dodecanese Group has been evacuated by the R.A.F. defenders, declares the British Middle East command.

October 29 Japanese Navy planes attacked six enemy cruisers early on the morning of October 23 at a point southeast of Krechin Point, New Guinea, and damaged two cruisers

and shot down two P-40 fighters. The loss on Japanese side was two planes.

October 30 The formal conclusion of a Pact of Alliance between the Japanese Government and the Nanking Government is announced by the Board of Information. The Board also releases a statement of the Japanese Government which reveals that the Basic Treaty between Japan and China and the documents attached thereto, which formally existed, have lost their validity by virtue of the coming into existence of the new pact. As a result of the latest accord, Japan agrees to withdraw its military forces from China on the return of peace.

October 31 To express his gratitude to Japan for its recognition of the Azad Hind Government, Subhas Chandra Bose arrives in Tokyo.

The *Teia Maru*, the Japanese exchange ship, steams into Shoh-nan with 1,500 repatriates, including Minister Kiyoshi Yamagata to Chile.

November 1 The administrative structure of the Japanese Government enters a new stage with the creation today of the new Ministries of Munition; Transportation and Communication; and Agriculture and Commerce. The appointment of Premier General Hidéki Toho concurrently as Munition Minister; of former Railway Minister Yoshiaki Hatta as Transportation and Communication Minister; and of former Agriculture and Forestry Minister Tatsunosuké Yamasaki as Agriculture and Commerce Minister are announced.

With the abolition of the Planning Board, a Council of Counsellors is established in the Japanese Cabinet

as an advisory organ to the Premier.

The Nanking Government extends its recognition to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in his first interview with foreign correspondents in Tokyo since assuming his present important post, tells that the Indian National Army is getting ready to move into India to wage the liberation battle.

November 2 Foreign Minister Mamoru Shighémitsu gives a banquet in honour of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, and pays tribute to his heroic struggle for the cause of India's freedom.

Japanese units operating in and around Finschhafen and in the area south of Madang in New Guinea Island are inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. In the fortnight period ending October 29, they caused the enemy to abandon 2,648 bodies in the Finschhafen area and blasted ten guns, ammunition dumps in two places and supply dumps in three places, according to a *communiqué* of the Imperial Headquarters. The operations in the Chinese-Burmese border are satisfactorily progressing. The principal war results obtained since early in October up to October 27, according to the same *communiqué*, are: bodies abandoned 1,020, war prisoners 110 and ammunition captured about 130,000 rounds.

November 3 The enemy air force lost 504 planes out of a total of 3,589 that came attacking Japanese bases in the Solomon area in the three and a half months up to the end of October. This means that the enemy air force lost more than

fourteen per cent. of the planes used in raiding operations.

November 4 The representatives of the five greater East Asiatic nations now in Tokyo to attend the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations are received in audience by His Majesty the Emperor in the Imperial Palace.

November 5 Today marks the opening in Tokyo of the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations. Representatives of Japan, China, Thailand, Manchoukuo, the Philippines and Burma meet for the purpose of carrying on frank discussions for the successful prosecution of the war and for the construction of a greater East Asia. Japan's representative is Premier General Hidéki Toho; China's representative Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the Chinese Republic; Thailand's representative, Prince Wan Waithayakon, representative of the President of the Council; Manchoukuo's representative, Premier Chang Ching-hui; the Philippines' representative, President Dr. Jose P. Laurel; and Burma's representative, Dr. Ba Maw. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, attends as observer. Impressive speeches are delivered by all the representatives.

Japanese forces between the night of October 31 and the morning of November 2 sank or damaged fourteen enemy warships, four transports and numerous smaller vessels off Bougainville Island and shot down 201 planes over Rabaul in New Britain Island, according to a *communiqué* of the Imperial Headquarters. The toll exacted from the enemy fleet was: sunk: five cruisers,

one of them instantaneously, one cruiser and three destroyers, two of them instantaneously, and two large-sized transports instantaneously; and damaged: two or three large-sized cruisers, one cruiser or destroyer, two destroyers and two large-sized transports. Loss on Japanese side was one destroyer sunk and one cruiser slightly damaged.

November 6 A five-point joint declaration is adopted by the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations. It clarifies the great principle of establishing a new order in greater East Asia.

Two American aircraft-carriers and four cruisers were sunk by Japanese Navy air units in waters south of Bougainville Island on the evening of November 5, according to a *communiqué* of the Imperial Headquarters. The loss on Japanese side was only three planes.

Japan's intention shortly to place under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which are now under Japanese military occupation, is announced by Premier General Hidéki Toho, chairman of the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations, in the course of the second and concluding day's session of the Assembly. This declaration is made by the Premier after the speech delivered by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose as observer.

November 7 Colonel Alfredo Gilbert, Foreign Minister of Argentina, again stresses the neutral stand of his Government to a special correspondent of a Chilean newspaper.

November 8 In devastating attacks on the enemy airfields of Madzab and Marawasa, New Guinea Island, on

November 6 and 7, Japanese Army air units destroyed sixty-eight planes, eighteen of which were shot down in air fighting.

November 9 The following *communiqué* issued by the Imperial Headquarters: Japanese Navy air units have been intensely attacking enemy convoys and their escorting fleet in the sea area south of Bougainville Island since the morning of November 8. The war results known up to the present follows: sunk: three battleships, two cruisers (instantaneously), three destroyers and four transports; damaged: one battleship (heavily damaged and set ablaze), more than three large-sized cruisers (heavily, damaged), three cruisers or large-sized destroyers (heavily damaged and set ablaze) and one large-sized transport (heavily damaged and set ablaze); and shot down: more than twelve planes. The loss on Japanese side: self-blasted or not yet returned, fifteen planes.

A general assembly of the representatives of the newspapers in greater East Asia will be held for three days from November 17 to 19 in Tokyo. The Japan Press Association is sponsoring the function.

November 10 Eighty-four enemy raiders including F6F's and P-38's were shot down at Rabaul, New Britain Island, on the morning of November 5 by Japanese units, it is made known.

A *communiqué* of the Imperial Headquarters says that the enemy battleship reported as heavily damaged and set ablaze in the previous day's *communiqué* was found sunk; that three more large-sized enemy cruisers were heavily damaged; and that another cruiser or large-sized destroyer damaged. Three more

enemy planes were shot down. The latest *communiqué* adds that five more Japanese planes were lost.

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan receives in audience Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

The eighty-fourth ordinary session of the Japanese Diet is fixed to be convened on December 9.

Argentine military leaders assembled at the Argentine Foreign Office on November 5 and issued a statement fully supporting the November 1 declaration by Foreign Minister Colonel Alfredo Gilbert regarding the Republic's policy of absolute neutrality in the current war, according to information received by the Japanese Foreign Office.

November 11 His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, summoning the Chief of the Naval General Staff graciously grants the following rescript to the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet: "The air units of the Combined Fleet fought valiantly in the Solomon sea area and dealt crushing blows to the enemy fleet. We deeply appreciate this. The war situation in this region is growing in intensity. We enjoin upon ye to exert further efforts to live up to Our expectations."

Disturbances have broken out in Lebanon as a result of the dissolution by the French Committee of National Liberation of the Chamber of Deputies which on November 10 un-animously passed a resolution for independence, it is reported in a message from Lisbon date-lined Beirut.

November 12 The new Thai Ambassador to Japan Wichit Wichit-Wathakan, who was formerly Foreign

Minister of Thailand, arrives in Tokyo to assume his post.

A Japanese bomber-fighter plane formation surprise-raided Imphal and Parel on November 9 for the first time after the close of the rainy season. Parel is about twenty kilometres south of Imphal in Assam, eastern India. At the Imphal airfield fifteen Hurricane fighter planes were set ablaze. Seven Hurricane fighters were set ablaze at Parel.

November 13 As a result of Japanese naval airplane attacks on American positions in the northern Solomon area, one cruiser or large-sized destroyer was sunk instantaneously and one large-sized cruiser, three cruisers or large-sized destroyers and one destroyer were heavily damaged. In addition, the Japanese Navy planes damaged an enemy battleship and two large-sized aircraft-carriers in waters off Bougainville Island, it is disclosed in a *communiqué* issued by the Imperial Headquarters. The loss on Japanese side consisted of thirty planes either self-blasted or not yet returned.

A Japanese mission to thank Japan for granting the former Dutch colony the right to participate in the administration arrives in Tokyo. The mission is headed by Ir Soekarno, president of the Central Council of Java.

November 14 Japanese Army air units in six attacks on enemy bases in the New Guinea area between November 6 and 9 shot down fifty-nine planes and wrecked or set ablaze more than 120 machines on the ground, says an announcement of the Imperial Headquarters.

The second Japanese-American exchange boat, *Teia Maru*, arrives in

Yokohama carrying about 1,300 Japanese nationals from various American countries. Of the 1,517 repatriates who had embarked on the ship from the Swedish exchange vessels, *Gripsholm*, at Murmão, Portuguese India, 107 landed at Shoh-nan (Singapore) on October 31 and another group of 111 left the ship at Manila on November 7 to take up their respective jobs on the spot.

The Japanese unit which carried out a mopping operation against Chungking's 79th division in the sector west of Chihchiho, Hupeh Province, at dawn of November 12 annihilated its 194th division at Wangchiafan, twenty kilometres west of Chayuanssu.

November 15 French Ambassador to Japan, Charles Arsène-Henri, died of sudden heart attack at his embassy home in Tokyo at 7 p.m. on November 14. He was sixty-three years old.

Japanese Navy air units before daybreak on November 13 sank two enemy cruisers, and a destroyer and heavily damaged one battleship and a medium-sized aircraft-carrier in waters to the south of Bougainville Island, according to a *communiqué* issued by the Imperial Headquarters.

Japanese Navy air units at dawn of November 11 and 12 raided the Port Darwin area in northern Australia. At Port Darwin military establishments in the city were damaged. At Brocks Creek, Stapleton and Bachelor military installations were demolished.

November 17 Japanese Navy air units at dawn today catch up with and attack a powerful enemy mobile force in waters south of Bougain-

ville Island and sink three enemy aircraft-carriers, three cruisers and another large-sized warship of unidentified category, according to an announcement of the Imperial Headquarters.

The General Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Newspapers is formally opened at the Dai Toh-a Kaikan, Tokyo, attended by more than eighty-two representatives from various countries of greater East Asia. President Tokichi Tanaka of the Japan Press Association delivers the opening address followed by President Eiji Amau of the Board of Information and Minister for Greater East Asia Affairs Kazuo Aoki. Colonel Shuitsu Matsumura, chief of the Army Press Section of the Imperial Headquarters, and Commander Itaru Tashiro of the Navy Press Section of the same Headquarters, also deliver speeches.

Mr. Ginjiro Fujihara, adviser to the Japanese Cabinet, is installed as State Minister, while Lieutenant-General Tei-ichi Suzuki, former President of the Planning Board, Mr. Yoshisuké Aikawa, former president of the Manchuria Industrial Development Corporation, and Mr. Keita Goto, well versed in transportation, are appointed new Cabinet advisers.

The losses inflicted on the American forces by the Japanese forces during the period from October 27, when they landed on Mono Island, up to the last aerial battle off Bougainville Island consist of fifteen warships and transports sunk instantaneously, thirty-two warcraft sunk, thirty-two or thirty-three others damaged, and 514 planes shot down. During the period the losses on the Japanese side included two destroyers sunk, two cruisers slightly damaged and

118 planes unaccounted for.

November 18 A resolution expressing thanks to the officers and men of the Japanese fighting forces on the front line is unanimously adopted at the second day session of the General Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Newspapers.

Japanese Navy air units, swooping down on an enemy convoy off Torokina, Bougainville Island, early on the morning of November 17, sank three transports and a destroyer, states an announcement of the Imperial Headquarters.

November 19 The three-day session of the General Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Newspapers comes to a close, when a proposal to establish a greater East Asia press federation is approved. Immediately the Greater East Asia Federation is formed with President Tokichi Tanaka of the Japan Press Association as chairman and five directors, one each from China, Thailand, Manchoukuo, Burma and the Philippines. In consequence of the formation of the federation, the Japan Newspaper Association, established in April 1913, is dissolved.

November 19 Tsinhsin and Fenghsien, key positions in Hunan Province, were occupied by Japanese forces early on the morning of November 18, says a notification of the Japanese Army in China.

November 20 The eleventh conferment of posthumous honours upon Japanese naval officers and men, who laid down their lives in the war of greater East Asia, is announced by the Navy Ministry and the Bureau of Decorations. Ninety-three of them, including the late Rear-Admiral Shinnosuké Ohta, are awarded special distinction honours.

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ADDRESS BY EIJI AMAU, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GREATER EAST ASIA NEWSPAPERS, NOVEMBER 17, 1943

It is a matter of great felicitation that this General Assembly of Greater East Asia Newspapers is being held with numerous representatives of the newspapers of the greater East Asia area gathered here. The first convention of newspapers in East Asia was held in Tokyo in 1940, the second in Canton in the following year and the third at Hsinking on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of Manchoukuo. But they were conferences with the participation of delegates only from Japan, Manchoukuo and China, and we always regretted the absence of delegates from other countries within greater East Asia.

I am very happy that the present General Assembly is being opened with the participation of delegates not only from Japan, Manchoukuo and China, but also from distant Thailand, the Philippines, Burma, Hongkong, Borneo, Malaya, Java, Celebes, Ceram and Sumatra. Together with the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations which was recently held, the present convention certainly is symbolic of the increasing prosperity of greater East Asia. It is indeed a great pleasure for me to be able to speak to you at this time.

We are fighting at the present to make secure the peace of greater East Asia by defending it from Anglo-American aggression and to bring greater East Asia back to the true form by freeing it from the shackles of America and Britain, thus to bring about the revival and rising prosperity of greater East Asia. We express from our hearts our respects for the earnest and effective work you are carrying on day and night in your newspaper work for the successful prosecution of the war of greater East Asia and the construction of greater East Asia.

In the course of Anglo-American aggression in East Asia for many centuries past, their most powerful weapons were their propaganda and machinations.

During the European dark ages and in the middle ages, they sought light from the East and found a way to the East. At first they made use of sea routes and asked to be allowed to trade with us, begging the importation of East Asiatic knowledge and articles. Next, they planned to exploit abundant East Asia and to grind under their heels the paradise of East Asia. On the surface they deceived the East Asiatics by honeyed words and all the while they used every art of trickery and deception. By that they succeeded with only small armed power in extending their evil clutches to India, Ceylon, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, and a hundred years ago to China,

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thus completely invading East Asia and bringing it totally under their power in a period of only two or three hundred years.

Against these regions which they monopolized, they skilfully engineered to bring about discord among the various peoples of East Asia, pitted them against one another, and succeeded in their traditional policy of "divide and rule." By means of extensive undersea cable facilities, which they monopolized, combined with the network of overland communications, America and Britain were quick to monopolize the rights to gather and carry news in East Asia. As a result, all developments in East Asia were reported to other countries and to the world through British and American hands and at the same time foreign reports which were passed on to the East Asiatics and all articles of foreign countries published in East Asiatic newspapers were news which were first coloured by the British or Americans. Particularly, the East Asiatics were not allowed to communicate and exchange news among themselves even in East Asia.

The Anglo-Americans not only encroached upon East Asia politically and exploited East Asia economically, but also converted East Asia into their "news colony."

In addition, they misused the right of communications, only considering their own interests and put into effect every trick, every bit of deception. Any report they considered opposed to their own interests they either suppressed or distorted, no matter how it succeeded in revealing the true state of East Asia or how greatly it reflected the intentions of the East Asiatics. And to hide and cover up their insatiable greed and exploitation of East Asia they sent out propaganda filled with skilfull colouring and fabrications. As an example may be pointed out the pressure they put on other races by skilfully working behind the screen of beautiful words they used such as calling for equal opportunities, the open door, freedom and equality.

The development, in recent years, of wireless communications served to break down a part of this Anglo-American control of "news" territory. But they organized their so-called world news federation and continued to monopolize the news gathering and distributing rights in East Asia. Until quite recently, newspapers in East Asia were not allowed even to omit or select news which was supplied by them. Thus, though we all lived in the same East Asia, our eyes looking at East Asia were kept covered and because of their machinations and propaganda, amazing misunderstandings were implanted in our minds, and we were forced to be isolated from one another.

I am not speaking of long ago; this was the actual situation in East Asia until a few years back.

Immediately before the outbreak of the war of greater East Asia they attempted to force Japan to capitulate without resorting to arms by simultaneously effecting an economic blockade and launching a huge offensive propaganda. They resorted to every threat in the name of the so-called ABCD encirclement and launched a desperate propaganda offensive by launching openly large-scale propaganda organs in Tokyo, Shanghai, Singapore and Bangkok. That is still fresh in your memories.

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However, once Japan took up arms and declared war on America and Britain, the aggressors of East Asia, the Japanese Army and Navy immediately crushed them, and the peoples of East Asia, who are of the same blood, extended wholehearted co-operation to Japan, in spite of long years of Anglo-American propaganda, and brought terror to the enemy. The just and righteous war aims of Japan, the wholehearted co-operation of the greater East Asiatic races with Japan and the construction of greater East Asia are powerful, undeniable facts which shatter most effectively enemy propaganda and machinations.

Truthful news reporting and unbiased journalism which are based on these outstanding facts completely overwhelmed enemy propaganda at the outset of the present war just as in the case of the armed struggle.

Thus we of East Asia have driven the long years of American and British influence out of East Asia completely in the field of news gathering, carrying and distribution also. The facts regarding East Asia are now reported by East Asiatics, things advocated by East Asiatics are revealed directly by East Asiatics to East Asia and to the world, foreign reports seen by East Asiatic eyes and gathered by East Asiatic hands are published in the papers and made known to the various peoples of East Asia, and here for the first time East Asia has been able to get newspapers of East Asia written by East Asiatics. And it is a matter of great happiness that their set-up is being made more complete day by day, month by month. In addition, our news reporting, in contrast to the fact that the Anglo-American method begins and ends with lies, deception and intrigue, is based always on truth, straightforwardness and without prejudice. I believe firmly that this truthful reporting and honest press are indeed the motivating force which will bring about the birth of a new order.

The enemy now feels a terror and threat because of the miserable defeat it suffered in the early stages of the war together with the advance of greater East Asiatic construction and the unity of the peoples of greater East Asia. The enemy has cast aside the propaganda it used at first in which it declared that it was certain to gain victory in a long war, and is moving out in a desperate counter-movement aiming at a decisive short war. In news reporting and propaganda, too, fabrications and wild talk are becoming more blunt and the enemy hastiness cannot possibly be concealed.

America and Britain are always covering up as much as they can from their people their defeats and are hiding all unpleasant facts. For example, they were not able to announce the facts of the defeat at Pearl Harbour for a year. And recently, they have been trying to be as vague as they can concerning the string of defeats suffered off Bougainville Island and are doing all they can to fool their people in regard to the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations. In the first place, their war aims are not clear and their allies are uneasy, having no common ideology or common aims. Thus they are discussing post-war management and topics concerning the maintenance of peace, doing all they can to deceive their people and bring disorder into our camp. These petty acts, however, are merely a kind of dream story before

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the truth of magnificent greater East Asia. And they only serve to reveal more clearly to us the continuous clashes and frictions going on between them and the unrest and difficulties in their countries, in spite of the fact that they are doing all they can to conceal these facts.

Against this, in our greater East Asia, the Japan-Manchoukuo and Japan-Thailand ties are becoming still closer, a new treaty of alliance has been signed between Japan and China, Burma and the Philippines have attained glorious independence, Indonesia has been granted political collaboration, and going further, we have witnessed the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. More than that, from the fifth of this month the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations was held which saw the proclamation of the magnificent Joint Declaration.

The nations of greater East Asia vowed to work together and defend themselves against Anglo-American aggression and to liberate greater East Asia from Anglo-American shackles, thus to complete the construction of greater East Asia and contribute to the establishment of world peace. They set forth five basic principles for the construction of greater East Asia and proclaimed them to the world. The first principle is that of common prosperity and common well-being. The new order to be constructed in greater East Asia will have morals as its foundation and the greater East Asiatic nations are not bound only in relations of rights and duties, but going beyond that, are tied by morals and love. They want to bring about an eternal and mutual prosperity by loving each other, encouraging each other and securing the stability of greater East Asia by sharing each other's hardship and happiness and working all together.

The second principle is one of independence and mutual amity. The nations of greater East Asia will treat each other as brothers, respecting each other's freedom and independence without unjustly violating them, will help and love each other and thus bring about true amity in greater East Asia. In olden times, the culture of greater East Asia lighted the world, but because of materialistic European civilization that light was obliterated, and by Anglo-American aggression the originality of the greater East Asiatic peoples was suppressed and greater East Asia went under Anglo-American invasion also in the cultural field.

Now, however, we respect each other's traditions and are driving higher each of our cultures and at the same time are promoting the growth of the superior originality which we possess. Thus we want to bring about the revival, building and development of characteristic greater East Asiatic culture.

Principle four is that of economic prosperity. Greater East Asia possesses infinite resources, but these until now had been monopolized by the Americans and the British. Today we have taken them back into the hands of the peoples of greater East Asia and are marching forward for their development and the progress of each other's national economies.

The fifth principle is the principle for contributing to the progress of the world. We of greater East Asia, at the same time as becoming firmly

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united as one, will cultivate warm friendships with all nations of the world, abolishing racial discrimination and prejudices, promote the interflow of cultures, throw open our resources to the world, welcome any who wish to co-operate with us, give the world what is good, take in the good points of the nations of the world, and thus contribute to the advancement of mankind.

This Greater East Asia Declaration is a clear-cut manifestation of the common ideal of the greater East Asiatic peoples. Unlike the empty and specious Anglo-American pronouncements, the greater East Asia Declaration is based on actualities in East Asia. Unlike the Anglo-American principles of aggression, exclusionism and egoism, the Greater East Asia Declaration is an outline of the construction of greater East Asia based on moral principles. It is, I believe, the supreme goal to be shown to the whole of mankind and the most remarkable document ever written since the dawn of history.

The proclamation of this grand declaration will strengthen still further the determination of the races of greater East Asia, who share a common ideal and a common mission, to march forward toward their common goal. I believe also that along with the establishment of a thorough understanding of this grand declaration, the war of greater East Asia will be successfully prosecuted and the construction of greater East Asia consummated.

To proclaim to the whole world the ideal of building up greater East Asia as manifested in this declaration and to guide public opinion in various countries with a view to the realization of the ideal—that is the glorious mission devolving upon the newspapermen of greater East Asia. The fulfilment of this mission will, I believe, go a long way toward not only the construction of East Asia, but also toward the progress of mankind.

BROADCAST SPEECH BY SADAO IGUCHI, THE BOARD OF INFORMATION, NOVEMBER 25, 1943

Most two full years have passed since the Imperial Rescript declaring war on America and Britain was graciously granted, and on the coming December 8 we will welcome the second anniversary of the start of the war. And tomorrow, November 26, is a day to be eternally recorded in our diplomatic history in connection with the outbreak of the war of greater East Asia. Particularly is it an unforgettable day for me, for I was in Washington at that time as Counsellor of the Japanese Embassy and took part in the work of the Japanese-American negotiations under Ambassadors Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura and Suburo Kuruu.

Needless to say, it was two years ago tomorrow, November 26, 1941, that the so-called November 26 Proposal, one which can be called the American Government's ultimatum concerning the Japanese-American negotiations, was handed by Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Ambassadors Nomura and Kuruu.

On November 27, the day following the handing of the November 26 ultimatum to the Japanese envoys, the American authorities issued official

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instructions in the name of Chief of the General Staff General George Marshall and Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Harold A. Stark to Lieutenant-General Walter C. Short, commander of the Hawaiian defence forces, and Admiral Husband Kimmel, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Pacific Fleet, telling them that "there is no chance for a reopening of the Japanese-American negotiations. What moves Japan will come out, it cannot be predicted, but the Army and Navy forces at the outposts must co-operate and deal with the situation." Particularly, Marshall, in his instructions to Short, added: "You can take these instructions as a warning of war." Also based on these instructions, Kimmel toward the end of November, issued orders to "fire on any Japanese submarines which are sighted in Hawaiian waters" and thus had already ordered the start of fighting.

Japan, for its own existence and self-defence, had no other alternative than to rise up in arms and, refusing to stand any more American insolence, accept the American challenge to war.

It follows, that the rights and wrongs of Japan and America in the war of greater East Asia are already clear. In contrast to the fact that Japan possesses clear war aims based on its existence and self-defence and righteousness, aims which Japan can declare to the whole world, the United States does not possess war aims with which it can satisfy even its own people. It is the will of providence that Japan, standing on righteousness, will gain final victory.

Immediately upon the granting of the Imperial Rescript, the loyal and courageous Imperial Forces scored outstanding victories in destroying the United States Pacific Fleet at Hawaii and following that annihilating the British Eastern Fleet off Malaya. At the same time they advanced into the various areas in the southern region and within six months after the start of the war had crushed the military strongholds in East Asia of America and Britain, had swept out aggressive Anglo-American influences from East Asia and had established the foundations for the liberation of greater East Asia. Thus, did we come to see the progress of the construction of greater East Asia.

I need not repeat here that the essence of Japanese diplomacy lies in its aim to establish firmly the security of East Asia, thus to contribute to world peace, and to hold warm relations with all nations and bring about common prosperity and well-being to the world. And the ideal on which that aim is based is *hakko ichiu*, the great ideal of the nation's founding.

The composite manifestation of the diplomacy for the construction of new East Asia, which has been driven forward based on such a lofty spirit, was none other than the Assembly of greater East Asiatic Nations held on November 5 and 6 in Tokyo.

America and Britain underestimated Japan's material strength and complacently believed that they could force it to its knees in a long war. That was why they tried to coerce Japan into submission with the threat of waging a long war.

Once the war started, however, Japan won every battle, quickly placed

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the whole of the south under its control and built up an invincible structure. Under its grand policy of fighting the war and carrying on construction work at the same time, the task of building up greater East Asia has progressed apace, the unity of greater East Asia has been tightened and the sure-to-win structure is daily being strengthened still further.

The enemy has been seized with trepidation over this development. America, the self-appointed greatest "have" country in the world, which has vaunted its ability to wage a long war is now feeling the menace of Japan's preparedness for a long war and is now impatient for a short war. What an irony!

The Soviet offensive on the Eastern front since the summer, the termination of the campaign in North Africa, the unconditional surrender by the Badoglio régime of Italy and local situations in Europe—these drove the enemy to a hasty conclusion that the situation had changed in his favour. At once optimism reigned supreme in America. Rashly optimistic views that Germany would be defeated in the course of this year and that Japan would be crushed next year prevailed far and wide. Such views were spread by irresponsible utterances by men like James A. Farley, former U. S. Postmaster-General, who had no hesitation in boasting that the war in Europe would be brought to a finish before Christmas 1943. Most Americans were in a transport of joy.

Then came the astonishing news of the crushing defeats in the five air battles off Bougainville. The optimists in America must have been thrown headlong into the depths of pessimism.

Now, President Roosevelt has the ambition of running for a fourth time in the forthcoming presidential election, next year. For this reason he fears most the possibility of the people being estranged from him. In this situation, it is more likely that Roosevelt will keep the defeats off Bougainville in scrupulous secrecy for a year hence, that is, until after the next Presidential election, exactly as he did the disaster at Pearl Harbour.

But the successive announcements of victories by our Imperial Headquarters must have penetrated even the thick hides of the American author for a few days ago, they announced the sinking of the cruiser *Northampton* by the Japanese. Their traditional policy is to announce their war losses piecemeal.

What confusion would take possession of the American people if the truth were revealed to them that in the short space of three weeks between October 27 and November 27, as many as eighty-five seacraft, large and small, were sent to the bottom and, with them 30,000 lives? The American Government may resort to all sorts of petty, shameless tricks, but the bereaved families of the 30,000 wardead will surely not keep quiet, and a serious commotion is bound to arise in course of time.

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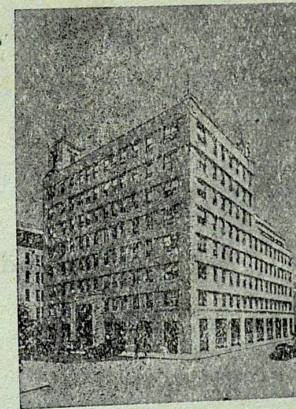
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News Broadcasts from Tokyo

(1) For Pacific Coast of North America

Tokyo..... 0:00— 3:40 a.m.
San Francisco 7:00—10:40 a.m.

JZ1 9,535 kc/s., 31.46 m.
JZH4 6,130 kc/s., 48.94 m.

A.M.

0:00—News in English
1:00—News in English
2:00—News in English
3:00—News in English

(2) For India

Tokyo..... 0:00— 1:45 a.m.
Calcutta..... 8:30—10:15 p.m.

JVW2 9,675 kc/s., 31.01 m.
JZJ 11,800 kc/s., 25.42 m.

A.M.

0:00—News in Hindi
0:20—News in Urdu
0:40—News in Tamil or Bengali (alternatively)
1:00—News in English

(3) For Southwestern Asia

Tokyo 2:00— 3:40 a.m.
Iran 8:30—10:10 p.m.
Arabia, Iraq ... 8:00— 9:40 p.m.
Turkey..... 7:00— 8:40 p.m.

JVW2 9,675 kc/s., 31.01 m.
JZJ 11,800 kc/s., 25.42 m.

A.M.

2:00—News in French
2:20—News in Arabic (except Mon.)
2:40—News in Iran (Tues., Thurs. & Sat.) or Turkish (Sun., Mon., Wed. & Fri.)
3:00—News in English
3:20—News in Nipponese

(4) For Europe

Tokyo 4:00— 7:00 a.m.
Berlin, Rome... 8:00—11:00 p.m.
London 7:00—10:00 p.m.

JVW 7,257.5 kc/s., 41.34 m.
JZH4 6,130 kc/s., 48.94 m.

A.M.

4:00—News in German
4:30—News in Italian
5:00—News in English
5:30—News in Russian
5:50—News in French
6:20—News in Dutch
6:30—News in Nipponese

(5) For Eastern North America

Tokyo..... 7:15— 9:15 a.m.
New York..... 5:15— 7:15 p.m.
Rio de Janeiro 7:15— 9:15 p.m.

JZ1 9,535 kc/s., 31.46 m.
JZJ 11,800 kc/s., 25.42 m.

A.M.

7:20—News in English
8:20—News in English
8:50—News in Portuguese
9:00—News in Nipponese

(6) For South America

Tokyo 9:30—10:30 a.m.
Buenos Aires 9:30—10:30 p.m.

JLG2 9,505 kc/s., 31.57 m.
JZJ 11,800 kc/s., 25.42 m.

A.M.

9:30—News in Spanish
10:00—News in Nipponese

(7) For India & Southwestern Asia

Tokyo..... 10:45—11:45 a.m.
Calcutta 7:15— 8:15 a.m.
Iran 5:15— 6:15 a.m.
Iraq, Arabia ... 4:45— 5:45 a.m.

JLG2 9,505 kc/s., 31.57 m.
JZJ 11,800 kc/s., 25.42 m.

A.M.

11:25—News in Arabic
11:35—News in French

(8) For Pacific Coast of North America

Tokyo 0:00— 5:00 p.m.
Mexico..... 8:20— 1:20 a.m.
San Francisco 7:00—12:00 p.m.

JZK 15,160 kc/s., 19.79 m.
JLG2 9,505 kc/s., 31.57 m.
JZJ 11,800 kc/s., 25.42 m.

P.M.

0:00—News in Spanish
0:25—News in Nipponese
0:40—News in English
1:30—News in English
2:00—News in English
3:00—News in English
4:00—News in English

(9) For Europe

Tokyo 5:15— 8:00 p.m.
Berlin, Rome... 9:15—12:00 a.m.
London 8:15—11:00 a.m.

JZK 15,160 kc/s., 19.79 m.
JLG2 9,505 kc/s., 31.57 m.

P.M.

5:15—News in German
5:50—News in Nipponese
6:15—News in Italian
6:40—News in English
7:15—News in German

7:30—News in Italian
7:45—News in English

(10) For Australia

Tokyo..... 5:15— 7:15 p.m.
Sydney 6:15— 8:15 p.m.

JZJ 11,800 kc/s., 25.42 m.
JVW2 9,675 kc/s., 31.01 m.

P.M.

5:15—News in Nipponese
6:00—News in English
7:00—News in English

(11) For China

Tokyo 7:30— 9:15 p.m.

JZJ 11,800 kc/s., 25.42 m.
JVW2 9,675 kc/s., 31.01 m.

P.M.

7:30—News in Nipponese
7:50—News in Cantonese
8:05—News in Fukienses
8:30—News in Standard Chinese
9:00—News in Russian

(12) For South America

Tokyo 8:15—9:45 p.m.
Buenos Aires... 8:15—9:45 a.m.

JVW3 11,725 kc/s., 25.51 m.
JLG2 9,505 kc/s., 31.57 m.

P.M.

8:15—News in Nipponese
8:50—News in Spanish
9:20—News in English

(13) For South Seas

Tokyo 9:30—11:40 p.m.
Saigon, Manila 8:30—10:40 p.m.
Bangkok 7:30— 9:40 p.m.

JZJ 11,800 kc/s., 25.42 m.
JVW2 9,675 kc/s., 31.01 m.

P.M.

9:30—News in Tagalog
9:45—News in Malay
10:00—News in Nipponese
10:25—News in French
10:50—News in Burmese
11:20—News in Thai

(14) For Eastern North America

Tokyo..... 10:00—11:40 p.m.
New York..... 8:00— 9:40 a.m.

JVW3 11,725 kc/s., 25.51 m.
JLT3 15,225 kc/s., 19.70 m.

P.M.

10:00—News in English
11:00—News in English
11:15—News in Portuguese
11:30—News in Nipponese



Tour Manchoukuo in Comfort

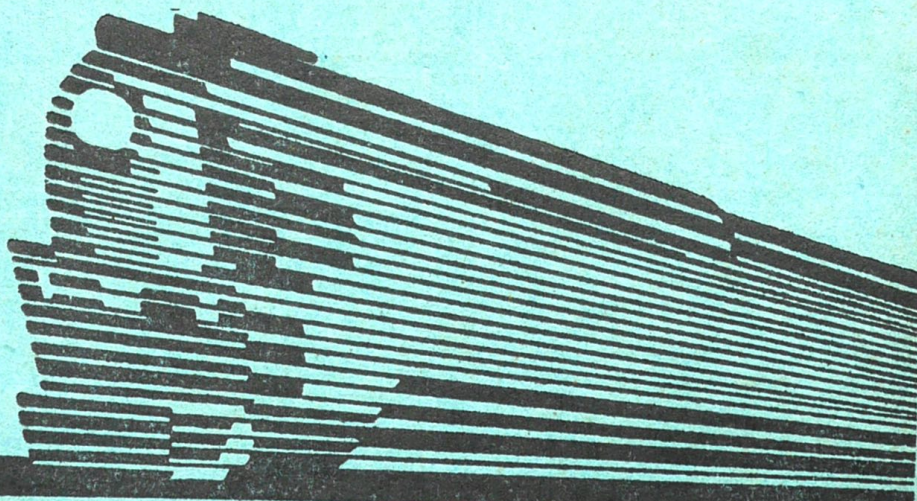
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